THE CUMBERLAND & WESTMORLAND ANTIQUARIAN & ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY

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TRANSACTIONS

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W. G. COLLINGWOOD, M.A., F.S.A.

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The Editor desires to express his thanks to the President and Mrs. T. H. Hodgson for the compilation of the Index.

Meetings held by the Society, 1912,
for Reading Papers and making Excursions.

1.—Carlisle .. .. April 14

2.—Cockermouth District .. .. .. July 7 and 8

3.—Carlisle District .. .. September 8 and 9

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ART. I.—*The Townfields of Cumberland.* Part II. By T. H. B. GRAHAM.

Communicated at Carlisle, April 11th, 1912.

THERE still survive in Cumberland (*a*) at least four arable enclosures held in *rigg and rëan ;*

(*b*) Seventeen enclosures wholly or partially laid down in grass, which nevertheless continue to exhibit the characteristic ranes ; and

(*c*) Fifteen old meadows divided in shares among several owners.

In the description of them which follows, those enclosures are marked *a*, *b*, or *c*, according as they fall within one or other of the above categories, and their situation is noted, so that those who take an interest in the ancient mode of husbandry may visit them before the last spark is extinguished.

Carlisle is the *focus* of the belt of common fields which I am going to notice, and I begin the circuit at Ellonby, thirteen miles due south of the city.

SKELTON PARISH.

Ellonby quarry field (*b*).—At the north end of the village is a long field containing a lime-kiln, and known as "Quarry field." It is divided longitudinally into two shares. That nearer the village, occupying about one-third of the frontage to the road, and containing 2½ acres, belongs to Lady Vane. A grass rane, three feet broad, divides it from the other share, which belongs to Mr. Wilson of Highhead. The whole is let for hay-making to one tenant, Mr. Nelson, who pointed out how the grass growing upon the old turf of the rane differed in appearance from that on the formerly arable shares.

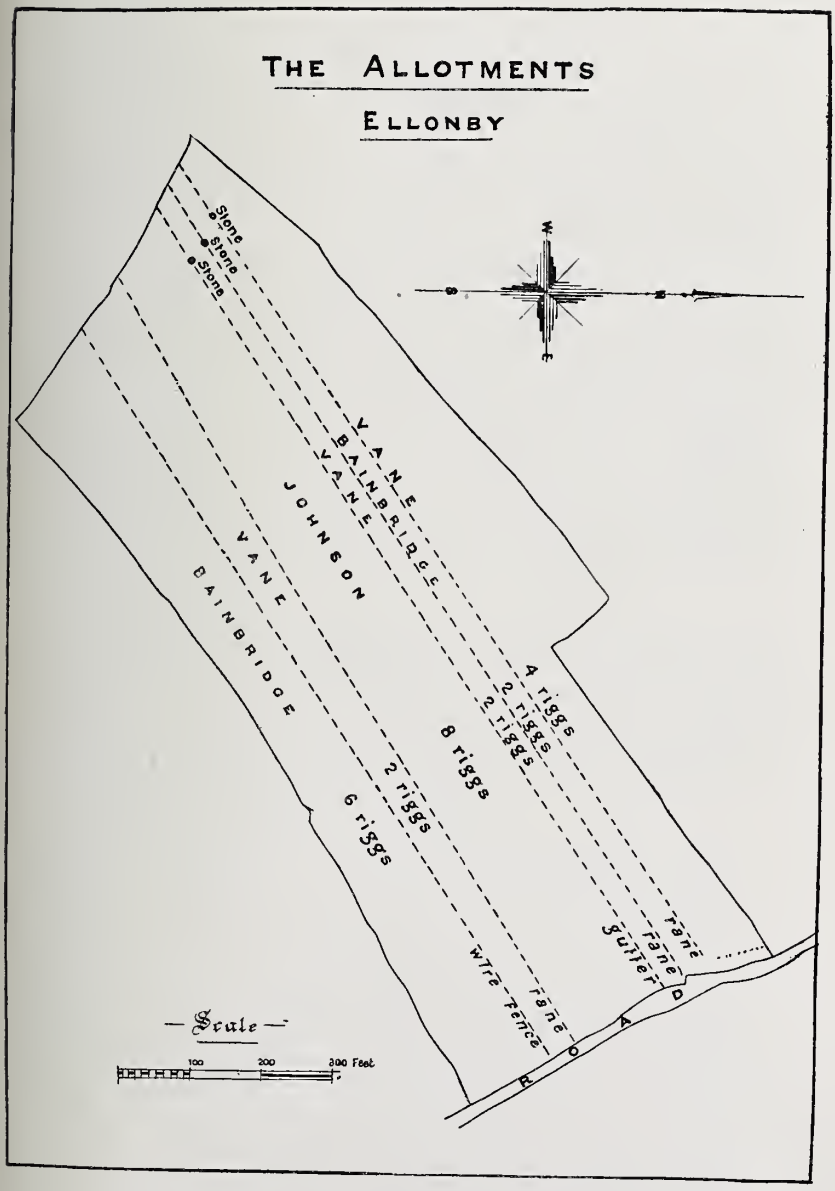
Ellonby Allotments (*b*).—On leaving the south end of the village, the first gate on the right gives admission to some very perfect remains of a townfield, known as the "Allotments." The enclosure is numbered 493 on the old Ordnance Survey, and contains 14 acres 0 roods 37 perches statute measure. My guide reckoned the contents of the field by "riggs."

Professor Wright says (*English Dialect Dictionary*):

> A specified number of furrows, generally ten, constitute a "rigg," and are marked off from each other by a larger furrow being formed at uniform distances throughout a field.

Cumbrians in particular applied the term "six times about rigg" to the area covered by six turns of the old plough at the foot of the field, and "rigg of oats" to the crop growing upon 12 such parallel furrows.

But the superficial area of a rigg of oats varied according to the shape and size of the specific share in which it was included. The Orton and Hutton terriers of 1704 mention reputed acres which contained only two riggs apiece (these *Transactions*, N.S. X., pp. 125-6). The arable fields of a modern farm are not cramped by ranes, as were the old townfield shares, and their riggs comprise a greater number of parallel furrows. There is a delightful air of hap-hazard about the arrangement of a townfield, but one feature is constant, and that is the rane, which is jealously guarded. Large stones are frequently set in it to prevent encroachment by the plough, and it is consequently a landmark of some antiquity. Modern landowners seldom regard their shares in a townfield as curiosities worthy of the attention of an Antiquarian Society, though such they are in fact. The acquisition of one of these last relics of mediæval agriculture, and its permanent preservation as an object lesson, would be desirable, but, if that were accomplished, the *form* only of the townfield's constitution would remain. The


THE ALLOTMENTS
ELLONBY
Stone
Stone
Stone
VANE
BAINBRIDGE
VANE
JOHNSON
VANE
BAINBRIDGE
A riggs
2 riggs
2 riggs
8 riggs
2 riggs
6 riggs
Wire fence
Fane
Fane
Gutter
Fane
ROAD
Scale
100
200
300 Feet

animating spirit departs at the moment when all the shares become vested in one person, sole or corporate.

The share at the north side of the "Allotments" is the most remarkable. It contains 4 riggs (about two acres) and belongs to Lady Vane. When I saw it last summer, it was under various crops. Its grass head-rigg had a frontage to the road of 90 feet, and was 20 feet long. Then came a length of 500 feet in oats, bounded south by a three-foot rane. Next to it 36 feet length of meadow; and here the share suddenly expands northward, and the rane for the rest of its course becomes 6 feet broad. Then came 540 feet length of turnips, followed by 210 feet of hay, and the rane terminates at a boundary stone. The share however continues, as meadow land, for another 90 feet to the western end of the field, where the ground is very rough with an outcrop of rock.

The accompanying *plan* gives other details of the arrangement of the townfield. The 2nd, 3rd, and 5th shares are evidently original acres, containing 2 riggs apiece. The entire area is mown for hay, except the aforesaid portions of the 1st share which are arable, and the 6th share which is pasture.

Rigg-dike farm (*b*).—The occupation roads meet at a point nearly half a mile behind Skelton church. "Dale field," the fourth in a north-westerly direction from that point, is divided into two shares by a three-foot rane. That on the north side contains one acre and three-quarters, and belongs to Mr. Cooper of Carleton Hall, Penrith. That on the south side contains 4 acres, and belongs to Mr. Armstrong of Cockermouth. A stone is fixed about half way along the rane.

Little Blencow (*c*).— Close to the village of Little Blencow, but in Skelton parish, is a meadow divided into two shares. It is bounded on the west by the stream called Lambeck, and on the north by an aban-

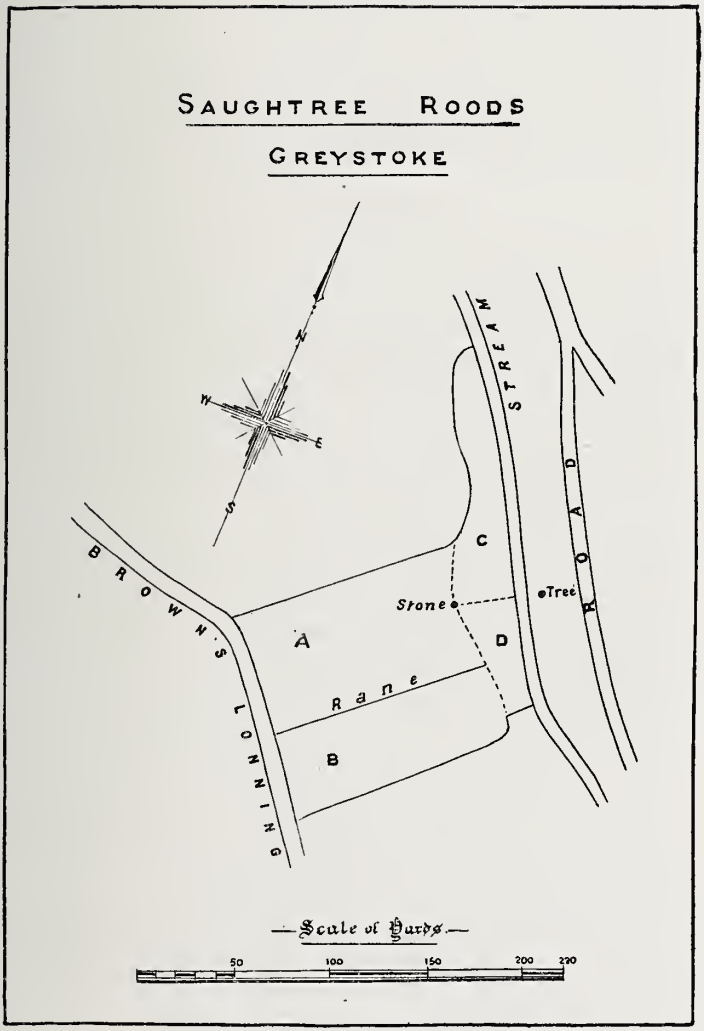
doned portion of the highway. Planted in line across the middle of the field are six stones, the first near the bank of the stream, and the others at intervals of 20, 46, 27, 28 and 14 yards respectively. They serve to divide the share of Mr. Riley of Ennim on the north from that of Mr. Brown on the south.

Greystoke Parish.

Saughtree Roods (*b*).—A curious enclosure called "Saughtree Roods" (see *plan*), formerly arable and now pasture, lies three-quarters of a mile north of Little Blencow. It is bounded west by an occupation road known as "Brown's lonning," and east by the Lambeck. The western portion of the enclosure is a plateau of considerably higher elevation than the eastern portion. At the north side of the plateau are two acres, marked A on the accompanying plan, and belonging to Mr. Riley. Then comes a three-foot rane, and then an acre, marked B, belonging to Mr. Brown. The last-named acre shows plough-marks, which prove that it formerly comprised ten old-fashioned riggs, each about eight feet in width. On the eastern edge of the plateau, 78 feet north from the extremity of the rane, stands the boundary stone, resting upon three other stones inserted beneath it in the face of the bank, and an imaginary line drawn from that boundary stone to a sycamore tree, growing upon the bank of the stream, divides the lower portion of the field into two other shares. But the ownership is here counter-changed, for the northern share, marked C, belongs to Mr. Brown, and the southern share, marked D, to Mr. Riley.

Hutton-in-the-forest Parish.

Blencow bank (*b*).—Hutchinson mentions (vol. i., p. 512) the finding of two urns containing ashes at "Blencow


SAUGHTREE ROODS
GREYSTOKE
N
W
E
S
BROWN'S LONNING
STREAM
ROAD
A
B
C
D
Stone
Tree
Rane
Scale of Yards
50
100
150
200
250

bank in Hutton common fields." On the west side of the road leading from Hutton End towards Hutton Hall, and half a mile distant from the former place, there is an enclosure which continues to bear the misleading name of "Blencow bank," and, on the opposite side of the road, a hay-field contains traces of ranes. So does the corner of a pasture field 100 yards further south, on the same side of the road.

Langwathby Parish.

Easyfitt (*c*).—Half a mile due west from Little Salkeld railway station is a meadow called "Easyfitt," bounded north by the river Eden, and including the dry bed of "Old Eden." It belongs to Mr. Thompson of Nunwick Hall and other landowners of Great Salkeld. for it formed part of that parish, until it was severed from it by a change in the river's course and a readjustment of the boundary. The shares are divided by boundary stones, but, when I visited the spot, only one of them remained fixed in the ground. The others had been laid in lines upon the surface, and certain bushes and trees are used as convenient marks when it is being mown. The first three shares at the east end have a length of 284 yards, and a frontage to the river bank of 32, 28, and 10 yards respectively. Our Editor suggests the Old Norse *esju-fit*, "clay-meadow," as the derivation of the name.

Langwathby Mill (*c*).—On the west bank of the Briggle beck, close to Little Salkeld station, is a meadow belonging in common to Sir Richard Musgrave and Edenhall glebe. It is approached by an occupation road, leading from the south end of Langwathby Mill bridge, and traversing two small intervening fields.

Melmerby Parish.

Melmerby Village (*a*).—From Melmerby a steep highway ascends to Hartside summit, and at the mile-stone

on the right, close to the village, a lane leads to a common field divided longitudinally by a three-foot rane. The long narrow share on the north side, containing only two roods and 32 poles, belongs to Mr. Airey. The remainder of the field, containing about 7 acres, belongs to Mr. Close. The western portion of both shares is in tillage, and the eastern portion is at present cut off for pasture by a wire fence, but the grass rane runs uninterruptedly throughout both portions.

Todhills (*a*).—Immediately east of Todhills farmhouse, on the road from Melmerby to Gamblesby, is a good example of a *rig and rëan* field in two shares. The smaller one at the north side, containing a reputed acre, belongs to Mrs. Workman, while the larger one, containing 2 acres 3 roods statute measure, belongs to Mr. Close. Between them runs a rane three feet high and of the same breadth, covered, when I saw it, with high flowering weeds, and forming a very conspicuous object.

Todhills (*b*).—The third enclosure on the roadside north of it was lately in two shares, but is now the property of a single owner. It is pasture, but the old grass rane remains distinctly visible.

Lanty (*b*).—Eastward of the last-mentioned enclosure, and separated from it by the old field-way, is another called "Lanty," about 90 yards in length and comprising three shares. The northern share, which is still arable, has a head-rigg 50 yards broad, and belongs to Mr. Airey. A wire fence has been erected along its inner side, to protect the crop. The middle share is 32 yards in breadth, and belongs to Mrs. Workman, while the southern share is 23 yards broad and belongs to Mr. Houghton of Melmerby Hall. The two last-mentioned shares are pasture. Every share is divided from the adjoining one by boundary stones and three-foot ranes.

All the above-described lands have once formed parcel of Melmerby townfield.

Addingham Parish.

Ingmire (*c*).—Between the village of Gamblesby and the steep escarpment of the eastern fells is the site of the old townfield. Opposite the church at Gamblesby a road leads through a farm-yard to the fells, and the third turning on the right is a green lane called "Ingmire," which follows two sides of a meadow bearing the same name. That meadow was recently held in common by two proprietors, the shares being separated by a stream, now enclosed in a culvert, though its course is clearly traceable.

Greenhow (*b*).—The same lane leads to a remarkable open field known as "Greenhow" or "Greena," which is worthy of a visit. It is a hillside on which a series of level terraces, backed by steep banks, rise one above the other like the seats of a hippodrome. At the foot of the hill is a half-acre belonging to Mr. Westgarth of Gamblesby, who kindly supplied me with this information. Above it rise three terraces containing half-an-acre apiece, belonging to Mr. Thompson; while the plateau on the top, exhibiting traces of other ranes and comprising three acres of land, belongs to Mr. Jackson of Crozier Lodge, Penrith. As in the case of many other open fields, the whole area has been laid down in grass, but it was formerly arable land, and I cannot do better than quote Mr. Seebohm's lucid explanation (*English Village Community*, p. 5) of how such terraces were formed :—

When a hillside formed part of the open field the strips almost always were made to run, not up and down the hill, but horizontally along it; and in ploughing, the custom for ages was always to turn the sod of the furrow downhill, the plough consequently always returning one way idle. If the whole hillside were ploughed in one field, this would result in a gradual travelling of the soil from the top to the bottom of the field, and it might not be noticed. But as in the open field system the hillside was ploughed in strips with unploughed balks between them, no sod could pass in the ploughing from one strip to the next;

but the process of moving the sod downwards would go on age after age just the same within each individual strip. In other words, every year's ploughing took a sod from the higher edge of the strip and put it on the lower edge; and the result was that the strips became in time long level terraces, one above the other, and the balks between them grew into steep rough banks of long grass, covered often with natural self-sown brambles and bushes.

Similar terraces, known as the "Hanging walls of Mark Anthony," occur at Kirkland, at the site marked "Camp" by the Ordnance Survey close to the Nook farmhouse, Bewcastle, and elsewhere. In such cases the formation is doubtless due to the long-continued action of the plough.

Unthank (*b*).—Three furlongs north of the village of Unthank in Addingham parish, upon the left hand side of the road leading towards Renwick, is a pasture field called the "Ranes." It is "ancient land," and there is a single terrace upon the hillside. The steep banks which flank the terrace are locally reputed to be ranes, but, beyond the name of the field, there is nothing which deserves notice.

Hesket-in-the-forest Parish.

Nunclose (*a*).—Proceeding three furlongs westward from the hamlet of Nunclose, one arrives at a farmhouse occupied by Mr. Heslop, and the second field beyond it, on the opposite side of the road, is arable and divided into two shares by a three-foot grass rane. The eastern share, containing one acre, is owned by Mr. Irving, the western share, containing two acres, belongs to Mr. Milburn.

Old Town (*b*).—At Old Town, three-quarters of a mile distant from the last, and on the western side of the farmhouse occupied by Mr. Ferguson, is a field divided into three shares, of which the middle one belongs to

Mrs. Robley, and the outer ones to Mr. Ecroyd. The whole area is pasture, but the three-foot ranes are still very distinct.

Court Thorn (extinct).—The position of the old arable field of Hesket is further disclosed (these *Transactions*, N.S. v., p. 307) by an informant who, speaking in 1822 of the destruction of the Viking tumulus about 67 yards south of the Court Thorn, said that 50 or 60 years previously the adjoining enclosures, as they then existed, were lying in one common field divided by landmarks. "Field house" may derive its name from its proximity to the townfield.

Cumwhitton Parish.

Hornsby gate (*b*).—There is a field called "Riddings," on Foulpool farm, with a high three-foot rane, situate on the south-west side of the occupation road and opposite the bend in it. The share adjoining the occupation road is meadow belonging to Mr. Ecroyd, and contains 2 acres and 1 rood. The other share, containing an acre, belongs to Mr. Liddle of Hornsby, and has not been ploughed for five years.

Wetheral Parish.

Acre-head (*b*).—In travelling from Cotehill to Cumwhinton one passes a turning, on the left hand side, leading to a dwelling-house called Acre-head—a suggestive name, and the second enclosure beyond that turning exhibits an instance of the old mode of cultivation. The enclosure contains an acre and a half, but is clearly divided into three reputed half-acres of nearly equal extent, that in the middle belonging to Mr. Coulson of Cumwhinton, and those on either side of it to Mr. Pattinson. The whole is farmed by one tenant, and has been in grass for several years past, but, as the field

lies upon a slope, the three-foot ranes present the appearance of steps.

Stripes (extinct).—Proceeding a quarter of a mile further along the same road, and immediately after passing the cross-way leading to the hamlet of "Stripes," one sees, on the right-hand side, two adjacent pasture fields with a frontage of 150 yards to the road. These, within the recollection of many of the inhabitants, were divided into shares among five or six different proprietors. It is said that disputes arose as to the time and manner of cultivation, the sale of the shares, and the apportionment of the purchase money; and I have never known a farmer who had a good word to say for tenure in *rig and rëan*, and the inconvenient circumstances which everywhere attend it.

Crosby Parish.

Walby (*c*).—Half a mile due north of Walby, adjoining Brunstock beck, is a ten-acre meadow divided into two equal shares. That on the west belongs to Mr. Thompson, that on the east to Mr. Jefferson.

Scaleby Parish.

Common wood (extinct).—Half a mile south-east of Scaleby Castle there is a lane, the lower part of which is known as "Common wood lonning," and the land abutting upon both sides of it was recently open meadow land. Some of the large stones, which separated the "darks," are still lying in a group near the lane. Dark is the local pronunciation of day-work. Jamieson spells it thus, and the rolled r practically adds a syllable, but in the Wigton district it is pronounced "darrick."

Scaleby hill (*c*).—Near this hamlet is a meadow, abutting north upon one at which the occupation road known as "Meadow lonning" terminates. It is divided into

two shares. The western, containing about an acre, is owned by Mr. William Watson, the eastern, containing about two acres, belongs to Mr. Mattinson. A boundary stone in the south dike and a bush at the north end mark the dividing line.

The Swangs (*c*).—A green occupation road runs north-east from the sharp elbow of the highway a quarter of a mile north of Scaleby hill, and at its further end is a common meadow called the "Swangs," measuring about 120 yards each way, and divided into two equal shares by a shallow gutter, along which a wire fence has been lately erected. One half belongs to Mr. Wilson of Barclose and the other to Mr. Bailey. Our Editor compares the Old Norse *svangr*, "narrow," with the name of these strips of meadow.

Brighten flat (*b*).—Here is a field divided into two shares. The western share, containing one acre, is 27 yards in breadth by 213 in length, and recently belonged to Mr. Watson, but it has been purchased by Mr. Graham of Brighten Flat, the owner of the eastern share, which comprises four acres. Between them runs a rane four feet wide, in which are set two great stones, one 30 yards from the north fence, the other 72 yards from the south fence, and a footpath follows the top of the rane. The field has not been ploughed of late years.

Over Denton Parish.

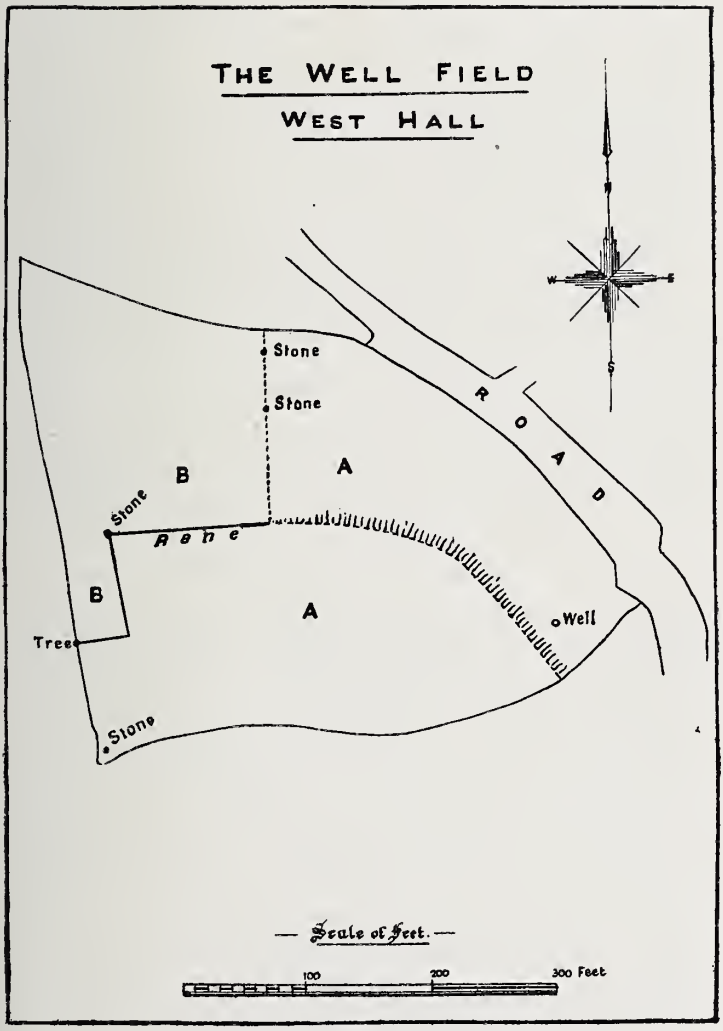
High Denton village (*b*).—Behind the church, and hemmed in on three sides by the Irthing, is a fragment of the townfield now used as meadow. The central portion belongs to Lady Carlisle, and is bounded east by a long rane, and south by a line indicated by 5 boundary stones. The south-east corner of the field, containing half an acre, belongs to Miss Dugdale, and is bounded by a line drawn from the said rane eastward to an eller tree upon the river bank.

The north-east corner belongs to Mr. Ferguson, whose share tapers to a point at the same eller tree. At the foot of Miss Dugdale's share is one belonging to Mr. Birkett. It is separated from that of Mr. Ferguson by a rane, and abuts upon that of Lady Carlisle, until it meets an imaginary line drawn, from her said boundary marked by stones, northward to a thorn bush on the river bank. The north-west corner of the field belongs to Mr. J. Richardson of Brampton, and is separated from Lady Carlisle's share by a line drawn from a low mound near the river at the north side of the field, in a south-westerly direction, to an eller tree further down the stream.

Lanercost Parish.

Well field (*b*).—Adjoining the village street of West Hall, 13 miles north-west of Carlisle, is a common field of complicated arrangement (see *plan*). The share thereon marked A belongs to the Misses Harding of Brampton, that marked B belongs to Mrs. Milburn of Hayton. The division is a zig-zag rane, three feet broad, from the eastern extremity of which an imaginary line is drawn in a northerly direction so as to pass two stones, set at distances of 84 and 134 feet respectively, and to meet the boundary of the field. The higher ground at the south side of the field is arable, but the remainder is mown for hay. The shape of the rane suggests that it has once enclosed the head-riggs of older sub-divisions.

Heugh brae (*b*).—On the north bank of the river King, half a mile from West Hall, lies a meadow called "Heugh brae" (No. 402 Old Ordnance Survey), divided into three shares. The middle share, about half an acre, is owned by the Misses Harding. It is bounded east and west by ranes, and was probably arable at one period. The two outer shares are owned by Mrs. Milburn. The meadow is reached by entering the gate at the guide-post and crossing two intervening fields.


THE WELL FIELD
WEST HALL
Stone
Stone
B
A
Stone
Rane
B
A
Tree
Stone
Well
ROAD
W
E
S
Scale of Feet.
100
200
300 Feet

C

Rockcliff Parish.

Halltown (extinct).—Our president called attention, in 1891 (these *Transactions*, o.s. xii., p. 133), to an existing fragment of common field at Halltown, but it has been enclosed within the past ten years, and the ranes have been ploughed up. It lay within the right angle formed by the road immediately westward of Halltown farmhouse. Mr. Edmund Park of Rockcliff, a native of Halltown, remembers the common field there. The shares were of somewhat irregular shape, and the furrows sinuous. The ownership of the field was intermixed, but it belonged for the most part to the Cartner and Park families. It was cropped continuously from year to year, and there was no right of common pasture over the whole area. Mrs. Cartner, who lives upon the spot, can point out the position of several shares, and a wire fence near her house stands upon an old rane.

Burgh-by-sands Parish.

Thurstonfield (*b*).—On the south side of the road leading from Thurstonfield to Kirkbampton is a four-acre field, divided lengthwise into three shares by grass ranes three feet in breadth. It is the first field on the left after passing the turning to Longburgh. The middle share belongs to Mr. Stordy of Thurstonfield, and those on either side of it to Mrs. Harrison. The first-named probably consists of two original shares thrown into one, for its area is greater than both the outer shares together. The whole is pasture and let to one tenant. Mr. Stordy tells me that there was never any common right of pasture over the shares, but they have by agreement been occasionally laid under grass simultaneously.

Thursby Parish.

Parton mire (*c*).—Adjoining the river Wampool, west of Parton, is a meadow, containing some 32 acres, held

in common by five or six owners. The boundaries of the shares are marked by squared stones bearing the incised initials of former proprietors. For instance, S.R.B. stands for Sir Robert Brisco.

Parton hope mire (*c*).—This is a meadow which lies a quarter of a mile south of the last-named, and is held in six shares; late the property of Sir Musgrave Brisco and others.

Wigton Parish.

The broad dales, Oulton (*c*).—This is a very large meadow, containing 80 acres and more, divided into shares termed "darricks." Most of the shares are rectangular, but some are five-sided, and others triangular. The darrick is a reputed acre, but, if the statute measure is applied to it, it is here found to contain in general half, and sometimes only a quarter, of an acre. The meadow lies between Oulton and Gamblesby, and there is an approach to it from Tarnrigg moor. The hay is of poor quality, and everybody is agreed that the land would be more productive in the hands of a single owner, who would have an interest in draining and manuring it.

Oulton (*c*).—There is a green lane half a mile west of the village, and the last enclosure but one on its south side is a meadow held in three shares. The middle share, reputed to contain 2½ darricks, is bounded on the west by a wooden post near the hedge. In Wigton parish darricks of meadow are sold and let, like the stints of a common pasture.

Oulton (*b*).—Inside the gate at the foot of the same lane is a meadow divided into two equal shares by a broad five-foot rane. The eastern share is owned by Mr. Timperon, and the western by Mrs. Johnson.

Colmire (*c*).—Half a mile due south from Oulton, but on the opposite side of the *Sow* or great open sewer of Wigton, is an extensive tract of common meadow called

"Colmire." The name occurs in the Pleas of the Forest 1285 (these *Transactions*, N.S. vii., p. 21). It is intersected by deep gutters crossed by plank bridges, and is subdivided by stones into darricks. It is approached by an occupation road from Lessonhall. An interesting share is one situate at a point opposite Oulton House, where the *Sow* makes a sudden bend northward. Twenty-six yards east of the bend is a stone, and at a similar distance east again is another stone; these mark the boundary of four darricks abutting north and south upon them. Three of those darricks are owned by Mr. Timperon of Blencogo, while the fourth is owned by Mr. Mandel. But the latter has the right of mowing in rotation a different darrick in every succeeding year, and thus enjoys a roving right over the whole share. When I visited Colmire, the hay was in different stages of making, and it was thus possible to distinguish the exact extent of many darricks. For instance, in a four-acre share lying a short distance westward of that first described, a breadth of 21 yards of mown hay represented one darrick, a breadth of 34 yards cleared comprised two more darricks, while a breadth of 22 yards in cock made the fourth darrick. The great Colmire meadow abuts westward upon a very rushy piece of land used as a common horse-pasture, in which six or seven persons are owners of stints.

Colmire (*c*).—A quarter of a mile north of the hamlet of Lessonhall, bounded on the west by the road leading to Oulton, and on the south by the *Sow*, is a large meadow divided into three shares by very shallow gutters. The middle share belongs to Mr. Nicholson, and those on either side of it to Mr. Messenger.

Colmire (*c*).—Immediately south of the last-mentioned meadow is another divided into two shares, of which the western has a breadth of 72 yards, and is mown by Mr. Balfour, and the eastern, with a breadth of 100 yards, is mown by Mr. Dixon.

Meadow lonning (extinct).—I am informed that the meadow situate at the western end of "Meadow lonning," Lessonhall, formerly belonged to two owners, each of whom occupied the alternate share in succeeding years. That arrangement resembled the Scottish *run-rig* (these *Transactions*, N.S. x., p. 132).

Bromfield Parish.

Kelsick (*c*).—On the southern bank of the Waver, behind the hamlet of Kelsick, 13 miles south-west of Carlisle, is a thirteen-acre meadow called "East meadow," held in common by Mr. Martindale of Highmoor and three others. It is divided into many darricks of varying size, marked by boundary stones which are not visible, for it is the custom here to bury such stones beneath the surface, in order that they may not interfere with the free passage of the mowing machine. It is difficult to describe the darricks accurately without the aid of a plan.

Holm Cultram Parish.

Ellercar (*c*).—A mile and a half north-west from Lessonhall is another old common meadow, access to which is obtained by entering the last gate on the left before reaching Ellercar bridge, and traversing an intervening field. The meadow is bounded north and west by the Waver, and is divided into five shares by wooden posts driven into the ground at intervals of about 50 yards.

Aldoth (*a*).—Here is an enclosure which I regard as the gem of this collection, for it comprises three shares, or "acre-dales" as they are locally termed, all arable and the property of different owners. It lies on the south side of the road leading from Abbey town to Aspatria, and is the second field after passing the guide-post, numbered 818 on the Old Ordnance Survey. The share furthest from the road, containing 2 roods 35

perches, belongs to Mr. Tordiff. It has a frontage to the head rigg of 12 yards, and is bounded north by a three-foot grass rane. The middle share, containing 2 roods and 3 perches, belongs to Mr. Wilson. It has a frontage of only 9 yards, and is bounded by a similar rane. The third share, containing 1 acre 3 roods and 29 perches, belongs to Mrs. Rook. It has a frontage of 36 yards, and probably includes three or four original acre-dales. The acreage is taken from the Tithe Commissioners' Map of 1846, and I am indebted to Mr. Francis Grainger for the particulars. He has described (these *Transactions*, N.S. ix., p. 123) the ancient mode of cultivating the once extensive common field of Holmcultram. Its component acre-dales were permanently grouped into three main divisions (p. 124), each subject in turn to three successive grain crops, and six years fallow pasture for recuperation. The main division for the time being in tillage was subject to a general right of pasturage, from the time when the grain crop was removed until the season for re-ploughing arrived.

Sebergham Parish.

Upper Welton (extinct).—The Ordnance Survey marks "townfields" at Welton. The farm buildings at Ling, otherwise Lingside, are, as the name suggests, built upon the very edge of the waste, and all the land which intervenes between them and the village constituted the ancient townfield, but it retains no trace of its former condition.

Caldbeck Parish.

Nether Row (extinct).—A narrow lane connects Nether Row with Hesket Newmarket, and the land which slopes from its western end towards the village of Caldbeck was the old townfield. Mr. Bell of Nether Row remembers the ranes in this field, and the right of common pasture upon it, before its enclosure half a century ago.

Lest the foregoing details may appear superfluous, I will add that the Ordnance Survey takes no cognizance of surviving dales and darricks. In connection with the subject of this paper, I will notice certain old ramparts of earth, known as "dikes," which were probably constructed to protect the precious townfields from the ravages of cattle, turned out to pasture on the waste. When enclosure came into vogue, those dikes were no longer an aid, but a hindrance to agriculture, and their material was carted away to form modern field hedges.

Bishop's dike, Dalston.—In a field by the roadside, immediately opposite to Dalston Hall, is the north-western angle of a great earthen dike, which has been carefully described by the late Chancellor Ferguson (these *Transactions*, o.s. vii., p. 271). The Ordnance Survey shows a furlong of its northern, and half a mile of its western side, and it is believed to be identical with the "Bishop's dike" alluded to in the Orders of the Watches 1552, "From the head of Cardewmire to Little Dalston bars, the lordship of Dalston to watch and keep the Bishop-dyke, according to their ancient custom in the same"; and further alluded to in the parish register of 1576. The bishop's connection with the manor began in the thirteenth century, but the earthwork may possibly belong to a still earlier period. It consists of an outer rampart four feet high, and an inner rampant of half that height, with a broad level road between them. The earthwork forms a sharp line of demarcation between the "ancient land" and what was formerly Dalston common. The road which it contains may have been an avenue of approach to Dalston Hall, and also, like the "back-lane" at Orton, a field-way. The Orton back-lane varies in breadth from 8 to 12 feet; the road now being described is 15 feet broad where it abuts upon the highway, 37 feet broad at the north-west corner, and 83 feet at the south-west corner of the pasture field

which it bounds. According to the Ordnance Survey, the earthwork continued in a south-westerly direction across what has been a morass, but if so, a tangle of bushes, brambles and briars conceals its traces. It is unlikely that the road and inner rampart followed it there. But in a strip of wood beyond the morass the outer rampart is well preserved, and aims straight for the foot of "Barras brow" on the road to Cardewlees.

Now *barras* is an obsolete term meaning an earthen outwork, and hence a bar or boundary. The *Catholicon Anglicum*, 1483, gives *antemurale* and *vallum* as equivalents. It occurs locally at Barras top, Barras house, and Barras lodge, all near Lanercost, Barras gate, Orton, and frequently at Dalston. The road leading from the last-named village past "Barras house" towards the railway station was formerly known as "Barras lane," and after crossing the railway bridge arrives at a spot called "Barras gate," situate at the foot of "Barras brow," which spot, as Chancellor Ferguson took pains to ascertain, lies at the very edge of the "ancient land" (these *Transactions*, O.S. vii., p. 271). Here may have been a gate in the earthen dike (the prolongation, as I submit, of the first-named earth-work), giving egress to the common which lay beyond it. A passage in Whellan's *Cumberland* (p. 161) gives a clue to its further course.

> In the rich vale of Dalston there was a large earthen embankment, called a bar or barrow, extending from Dalston Hall to Cumdivock, a distance of three miles, raised for the purpose of protection against the incursions of moss troopers.

Its purpose may therefore have been primarily a military one, and I understand that our vice-President, the Rev. James Wilson, Vicar of Dalston, takes that view in an account of Rose Castle which is about to be published. An examination of the Inclosure Award Map at the office of the Clerk of the Peace suggests that the

old dike followed very closely the line of existing lanes to "Fountain head," near Cumdivock, where it may have joined a cross-dike fencing off Hawksdale common. Chancellor Ferguson, in his above-mentioned paper, refers to "Barras oak," near Hawksdale lodge. The tree lies prostrate on the ground.

Bishop's dike, Crosby.—This earthwork is mentioned in an old delimitation of the barony of Gilsland, which was probably copied (Nicolson and Burn, vol. ii., p. 479) from Lord William Howard's Field-book, 1603.

Down Levin, unto the nether end of Sparlin holme, streight overthwart to the great grey stone of Crosby moor, *within* the end of the bishop's dyke, and from the said grey stone unto the Picts' Wall, streight forth unto the *joining* of the bishop's dyke, and so following that dyke unto the *west end of Newby*, and, from the said end of Newby, down Forscue sike until it fall into Irthing.

The boundary of the barony, identical with that of Irthington parish, is there being traced southward along the Highberry beck, and so "within the end" means northward of the extremity of Bishop's dike, and the "joining of the Bishop's dike" means the *point d' appui*, where its northern extremity rested on the remains of the Roman Wall. The great grey stone referred to is probably that which lies almost buried in Highfield Moor farm-yard and marks the parish boundary. The dike did not cover the entire front of the bishop's barony from Brunstock beck to the Irthing, but only the part which abutted on Newby common, where cattle were wont to graze, and it is probable that it constituted the eastern fence of Crosby townfield. It forms the boundary between Crosby and Irthington parishes, and the dotted line on the Ordnance Survey is therefore a guide to its route. The white gate, hung across the road which follows the line of the Roman Wall, is the starting point. A sike draining White Moss marks the division of the

parishes, and on the Irthington side of it is the Bishop's dike—a low bank measuring 10 or 12 feet across the top. The sike flows in what has perhaps been the accompanying ditch. It is a principle of law that a ditch belongs to the land upon which its excavated material has been thrown, and it would seem therefore that this portion of the dike was made by and belonged to the lord of Gilsland. The dike continues onward for a quarter of a mile, and suddenly comes to an end just where the sike makes an elbow westward and again turns south.

The moss itself was here an impassable barrier, and if the rampart was constructed across its spongy surface, it has sunk beneath the mire.

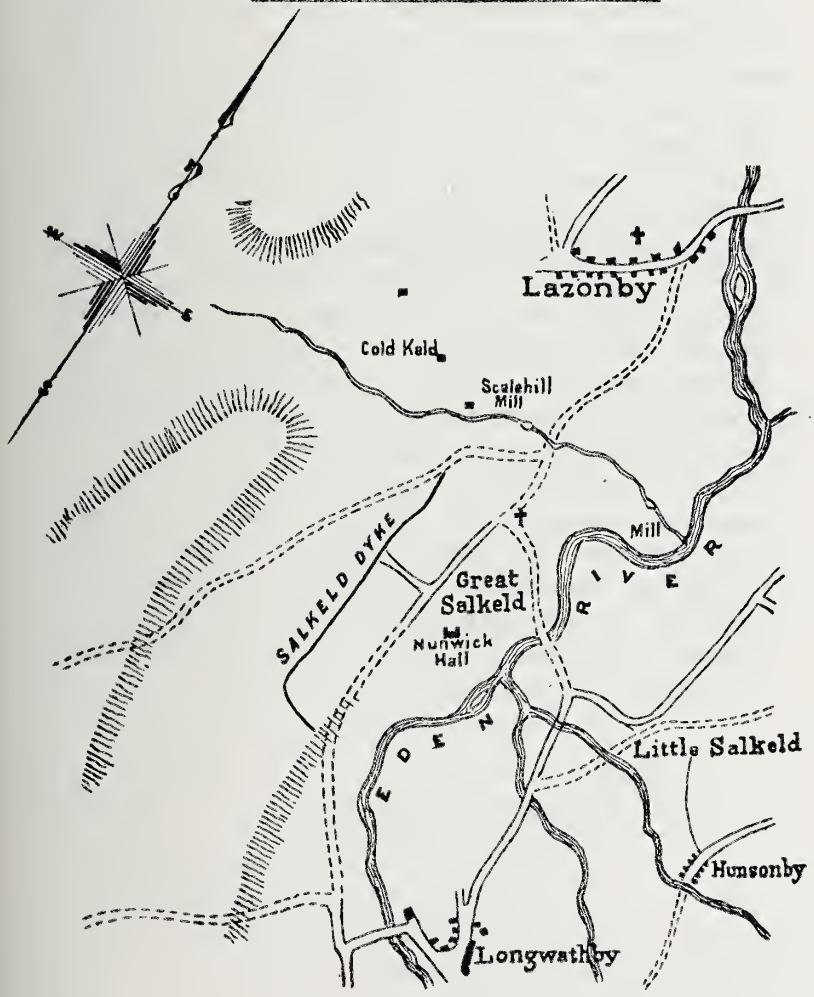
But at the further side of the moss is a narrow plantation, which contains a fragment (60 feet long and about two feet high) of the Bishop's dike, which has meanwhile crossed from the eastern to the western side of the parish boundary. Wherever the plough has run freely on both sides of the dividing line, both rampart and ditch have been effaced or reduced to the dimensions of ordinary field boundaries. But, at a distance of a mile from the said elbow, another section of the original dike occurs in a plantation belonging to Mr. Little of Watchcross. Here, as our president has noted (these *Transactions*, O.S. xiv., p. 144), the earthwork consists of an outer rampart on the east four feet high, and an inner rampart of from two to three feet high, with a space of ten feet between them, and it therefore bears a great resemblance to the Bishop's dike at Dalston. Half a mile further south it reached its terminus—the sike which formed the manorial boundary "at the west end of Newby."

The contained road may have served as a means of access to Crosby townfield, and as a driftway for the cattle to the waste of Crosby Moor, which abutted north upon that field. The name of "Bishop's dike" does not survive locally. Several old residents inform me

that the remains of the earthwork are known as "Barras dike," and the sike at its northern extremity as "Barras beck." Our President is of opinion that Barras dike is here a corruption of "Baron's dike," that is to say, the boundary of the barony of Gilsland, but with great deference I would call attention to the analogous application of the term *barras* at Dalston.

SALKELD DIKE.—The *plan* here given is enlarged from Jollie's very minute and accurate map contained in Hutchinson's *Cumberland*. If it is compared with Donald's map it appears that the dike started from a point about one mile south of Nunwick Hall, where the upper road, which has there been diverted, used to meet the lower road, which passes through the village. From that point the dike ran due west for half a mile, still following the upper road, along whose eastern side stood the hamlet of "South Dyke." As it approached the latitude of the church, it dipped eastward, so as to exclude the gravel ridge, near the hamlet of "North Dyke," and a small tract of adjacent common, but rejoined the upper road at the cross-ways. There is another reason for supposing that Great Salkeld was formerly surrounded by a ring fence, in which occurred "bars" or gates, giving egress to the common, for Canon Loftie states in his handbook on the parish (p. 109) that there were, within memory, gates on the highroad, at either end of the village, that on the north being known as "Hogg's gate," and that on the south as "Oliphant's gate." There were similar "bars" at Little Dalston, Nealhouse, and Great Orton. Salkeld dike must have been made to protect the townfield from the ravages of man and beast. Raiders were thereby impeded, when attempting to drive off the villagers' cattle. The oxen pasturing on the common, and the wild deer of the forest, were thus kept at bay, and the property of the inhabitants rendered more secure. Outside the dike all was waste,

SALKELD DIKE



as is testified by such names as Scale Hill, Wan-fell, and Fell cottage.

Basco dike, Ainstable.—Donald's *map* here reproduced shows a boundary called "Basco dike," running from Ainstable towards Ruckcroft, and its vicinity is indicated at the present day by the names "Bascodyke foot" and "Bascodyke head." At the latter place it was joined by a cross-dike, whose extremities were equidistant from Ainstable church, and whose memory is preserved in the place-name "High Dykes." Cumbrians have an inveterate habit of adding the plural termination. Canon Thornley observes (these *Transactions*, o.s. xv., p. 48) "In many cases the letter s turns a merely descriptive word into a field-name, and has nothing to do with the plural number." For example, rose tree is the name of a bush, but Rosetrees is the locative case—the place where the rosetree grew. All traces of dike and cross-dike have vanished, but their object was evidently to fence the cultivated land, near the Eden and Croglin water, from the open waste which adjoined King Harry. It may be interesting to compare the accompanying maps with an old plan of the country lying between Armathwaite and Great Salkeld, contained in Hutchinson's *Cumberland*, vol. i., p. 312.

BASCO DIKE.

Nelson Hill
Holmwrangle
Low
King
Harry
Drybeck
Armathwaite Chapel
High
BRIDGE
Ainstable
HALL
Knot
Harrows
Cooms Wood
Faugh Head
BASCO DIKE
RIVER EDEN
BARREN WOOD PARK
Beck
DIKE
Ruccroft
Slack
Bramery
Towdry
Mill
Dale
CROGLIN HALL
Nunnery
HALL
Scale.
0 1/4 1/2 3/4 1 MILE

ART. II.—*Annals of Liddel.* By T. H. B. GRAHAM.

Communicated at Carlisle, April 11th, 1912.

NICHOL Forest of the olden days, like the elfin grove of fancy, is hidden by a mist, which allows only an occasional glimpse of what is passing within. The sheriff's return of 1212, comprised in the "Testa de Nevill" (*Victoria History of Cumberland*, vol. i., p. 421), is explicit.

Nicholas de Stutevill holds his land of the King by cornage, by rendering annually for cornage 56s. Earl Ranulf of Chester, formerly lord of Cumberland, gave the aforesaid land to Turgis Brundas, predecessor of the aforesaid Nicholas, by the aforesaid service.

But Turgis Brundas, or Brundos, was not the immediate predecessor of Nicholas de Stutevill. The lapse of a century separated Turgis, enfeoffed by Ranulf Meschin early in Henry I.'s reign, from Nicholas, living late in that of King John. During the interval two important changes occurred. In 1136 Stephen granted Cumberland to David I. of Scotland, and in 1157 Malcolm IV., the latter's youthful successor, re-granted the same territory to Henry II. Immediately before that re-grant the veil of mist shrouding the banks of the Liddel is lifted for a moment—

Malcolm, King of Scots [1153-65], confirms to the hospital of St. Peter of York the grant to it, by Ranulf de Soulis, his butler, of a plenary carucate in his land of the vale of Liddel, as the charter of David, the King's grandfather [1124-53], attests. Also the land called Greshoppa [Kershope], which William *de Russendale* and Godeheuld, his wife, gave in alms. (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, vol. ii., p. 423).

The original grant to the hospital by William, therein styled *de Rossedale*, is instructive, and is assented to and attested by *Turgis his son*, who is doubtless Turgis Brundas :—

William de Rossedale grants his land of Cresope by these bounds : The fosse of the Galwegians, and the rivulet running from thence into Lydel, and on the other side of the fosse straight to the high moor, and so by the watershed of the moor, as far as the old way of Roxburgh, and as the said way falls into Cresope from above the shealings which were Eadulf's. If their pasture therein is insufficient, they shall have it in his *forest*, and wood for building, and their swine free of *padnage* (*Ibid.*, vol. ii., p. 423).

Among the witnesses to the royal confirmation were Hugh de Morvill,* Richard his son, Ranulf de Soulis, and Turgis de Russendale. The sequel appears to connect the family of the last-named witness with Rosedale in Yorkshire, and not with Rossendale in Lancashire. A document of much later date states that Turgis de *Russedale* (as the name is there spelt) was lord of the manor of Liddel, and gave the advowson of Arthuret church to the abbot and convent of Geddeworth or Jedburgh (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, vol. iii., p. 175).

The two following records throw a sidelight upon the early history of the locality :—

In 1126 David I. confirmed a charter granted by Turgot de Rossendale of lands situate in Canobie, including the church of Kirkandrews on Esk, which he had conveyed to the monks of Jedburgh. And in 1165 William the Lion confirmed a charter of Guido de Rossendale giving additional lands, and a right of fishing in the Liddel, to the same monastery (Paper of Mr. T. J. Carlyle, read to the Dumfries and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society, 1868).

* Not the Hugh de Morvill who married Helewisa de Stutevill and had no son.

Turgis de Russedale, in company with Hugh de Morvill and Robert de Stutevill, was also witness to the grant by Henry II. to Hubert de Vallibus of Gilsland about the year 1158, and it would thus appear that he had meanwhile become the vassal of the English King. Chancellor Prescott has pointed out (*Wetherhal*, p. 389) that Turgis de Russedale can scarcely be identical with Turgis Brundas, enfeoffed by Ranulf Meschin in Henry I.'s reign (not later than 1120, when Ranulf's connection with the county ceased), and he suggests that Turgis de Russedale may have been the son of Turgis Brundas.

But that is not the only problem involved in the early history of the English barony of Liddel. How did that land become vested in Nicholas de Stutevill? I cannot find a trace of any marriage between a de Stutevill and the heiress of Turgis de Russedale, and I am inclined to think that the latter died without an heir, and that his lands were re-granted by Henry II. to Nicholas de Stutevill the elder. It is certain that Robert, son of Nicholas de Stutevill *the younger*, founded a nunnery in the reign of Richard I. at Russedale (now Rosedale, near Pickering) in Yorkshire (Dugdale, *Monasticon*, Edition 1823, vol. iv., p. 316), and it is possible that the nunnery stood upon land which gave Turgis de Russedale his territorial surname, and afterwards came into the possession of the de Stutevills.

The pedigree of that family, given by Dugdale (*Baronage*, vol. 1., p. 455), is at variance with the public records, and I therefore submit a new pedigree which is in harmony with those records. It is based upon a genealogy contained in the Chronicle of Melsa or Meaux Abbey, Yorkshire. That Abbey was situate four miles north-west of Cottingham, near Hull, the principal seat of its benefactors the de Stutevills, and the compiler of the Chronicle, writing about the end of the fourteenth century, has left the following account of the family:—

Pedigree of de Stutevill.

ROBERT DE STUTEVILL, 1st baron, surnamed "Grundebeof," imprisoned for life by Hen. I., 1106.

ROBERT DE STUTEVILL, 2nd baron, a commander at the battle of the Standard in Stephen's reign, 1138.

ROBERT DE STUTEVILL, 3rd baron, justice itinerant in Cumberland, 1169-70, a commander at the battle of Alnwick, 1174. = ERNEBURGA.

- WILLIAM DE STUTEVILL, 4th baron, Sheriff of Cumberland, 1198. d. 1203. = BERTA.
  - ROBERT DE STUTEVILL, in the wardship of Hugh, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1204, died an infant without issue 1205.
- NICHOLAS DE STUTEVILL the elder, had Liddel Castle in 1174, and all his brother William's land in 1205-6, died circ, 1206. = GUNNORA.
  - ROBERT DE STUTEVILL had the honours of Liddel and Rosedale, founder of Rosedale Nunnery, dead in 1213. = SIBILLA DE VALOINES, had Torpenhow, d. 1222-3.
    - EUSTACE DE STUTEVILL the younger, in the wardship of William de Valoines, and in possession of Liddel by lease from Nicholas de Stutevill the younger, died without issue 1241.
    - (1) HUGH DE WAKE m. circ. 1229, d. 1241. = JOHANNA DE STUTEVILL obtained in 1241 seisin of Liddel, then lately in the possession of Eustace de Stutevill, d. 1275-6. = (2) HUGH DE BIGOT m. before 1246, d. circ. 1265.
      - BALDWIN DE WAKE d. 1281-2.
- EUSTACE DE STUTEVILL the elder, dead in 1218.
  - NICHOLAS DE STUTEVILL the younger, obtained Liddel, and leased it to his nephew Eustace until his majority, d. 1233. = DEVORGOIL, survived her husband.
  - ROBERT, born beyond the sea, alive in 1233.
  - MARGARET DE STUTEVILL in the wardship of William de Mastac, d. 1235.
- ROBERT DE STUTEVILL benefactor of Rievaulx Abbey, Yorkshire. = HELEWISA.
  - WILLIAM, mentioned in the Register of Rievaulx.

Robert de Stutevill, formerly lord of Cottingham, Knight, begat William, Nicholas, Eustace, and Robert. William, Eustace, and Robert died without children. William is buried with us. But Nicholas left two sons—Robert and Nicholas. Robert begat Eustace, and is buried with us. And, since the said Eustace died without issue, the inheritance devolved upon his uncle Nicholas. The said Nicholas begat Johanna, of whom Lord Hugh de Wake begat Baldwin de Wake (*Chronicle of Melsa*, Rolls Edition, vol. i., p. 99).

Another pedigree of the same family occurs in the Register of Rievaulx, or Rievall, Abbey near Helmsley, Yorkshire, to which land was given by a certain Robert de Stutevill, for the health of the souls of Robert his grandfather, Robert his father, Erneburga his mother, and also for the souls of Helewyse his wife and William his son (Dugdale, *Baronage*, vol. i., p. 455). The words of the grant imply that William the son was dead, so he cannot have been, as Dugdale alleges, the famous William de Stutevill, sheriff of Cumberland in 1198, because the last-named William certainly succeeded his father in the barony. But I submit that he was the son of the Robert de Stutevill, who is stated by the *Chronicle of Melsa* to have died without children.

In order to prove the pedigree, it is necessary to go back to the beginning of the family history, and to refer occasionally to the records of counties other than Cumberland. The first baron was Robert de Stutevill, surnamed "Grundebeof," imprisoned for life in 1106 by Henry I., because he was an adherent of Robert, Duke of Normandy (*Roger de Hoveden*, Rolls Edition, vol. iv., p. 118). The second baron was Robert de Stutevill, one of the commanders on Stephen's side at the battle of the Standard in 1138 (*De Gestis Stephani*, Rolls Edition, p. 160). The de Stutevills were evidently not as yet connected with Cumberland, for it is stated that the men of that county fought at that battle as subjects of David the Scottish King (*Victoria History*,

vol. ii., p. 242). The second baron must have been born before the date of his father's imprisonment in 1106, and so he is not, as Dugdale says, identical with the Robert de Stutevill who was in his prime in 1174. The third baron was Robert de Stutevill, who, in 1169-70, was justice itinerant in Cumberland, in company with Hugh de Morvill, and in 1170-71 sole justice itinerant in the same county (Madox, *Exchequer*, 2nd edition, vol. i., pp. 143-6). He was possibly brother of Roger de Stutevill, sheriff of Northumberland in 1176-7 (*Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 130). Robert de Stutevill and "his sons and brothers" supported Henry II. against his rebellious sons in 1173 (*Benedict of Peterborough*, Rolls Edition, vol. i., p. 51), and in 1174 *Robert de Stutevill and William his son* were among the leaders of the Yorkshire army (*Ibid.*, p. 65). It is important to note the date, because the same historian states that Liddel Castle belonged to Nicholas de Stutevill in 1174, that is to say in the lifetime of his father and elder brother, and so he cannot have inherited Liddel from his mother, who was presumably Erneburga mentioned in the *Rievaulx Register*. Robert the 3rd baron was succeeded by his eldest son William, who was sheriff of Cumberland in 1198, and, upon the accession of King John in the following year, was entrusted with the custody of that county and of the castles therein (*Hoveden*, vol. iv., p. 91). In 1201 he entertained King John at his manor of Cottingham (*Ibid.*, vol. iv., p. 156). He had the *ferm* of Carlisle, Penrith, Langwathby, Salkeld, and Scotby in 1201-2 (*Madox*, vol. i., p. 516), and laid claim to land which had been forfeited by his great-grandfather (*proavus*) Grundebeof (*Hoveden*, vol. iv., p. 117). He died in 1203 (*Annales Monastici*, Rolls Edition, vol. ii., p. 255).

Dugdale states that William married Berta, niece of Ranulf de Glanville (Rot. Fin., 7 John, m. 5), but nephew and niece in old parlance signified also grandson and granddaughter (Cf. Lat. *nepos* and *neptis*).

Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, obtained, on July 28th, 1204, the wardship of *Robert, son and heir of William de Stutevill*, and the custody of all his lands in England and Normandy (*Madox*, vol. i., p. 324, and *Calendar of Close Rolls*, 6 John, p. 4). The infant heir died almost immediately afterwards, as did the Archbishop, for on August 6th, 1205, Nicholas de Stutevill paid a fine of 10,000 marks for the inheritance of all the lands of which *his brother William* was seised, upon the day on which he died (*Ibid.*, 7 John, p. 45).

Of Nicholas the elder, from whom Nichol forest derives its name, little is recorded. His interest in Leventon (that is to say Randolf-Levington, member of Liddel) is referred to in 1188 (*Pipe Rolls*, V.H., vol. i., p. 364).

According to Dugdale he married Gunnora, widow of Robert de Gant (*Pipe Rolls*, 2 John, London, Middlesex) and niece or, in his pedigree, daughter, of Hugh de Gornay, and he appears to have died in 1206, leaving two sons, Robert and Nicholas the younger.

On January 4th, 1206-7, King John writes to the sheriff of Norfolk, "We have restored to Nicholas de Stutevill, nephew or grandson (*nepos*) of Hugo de Gornac, the land of Burlingham, of which *Nicholas his father* was disseised, on the occasion of the Norman disseisin" (*Calendar of Close Rolls*, 8 John, p. 75).

Robert the elder son married Sibilla, sister or daughter of Philip de Valoines, who brought him Torpenhow in Cumberland. He died before 1213, leaving an infant son, Eustace, and the inheritance of Liddel devolved (though the reason is not obvious) upon Nicholas the younger.

There follows a curious record, which definitely connects Nicholas de Stutevill the elder with Russedale *alias* Rosedale.

June 22nd, 1213. Sibilla de Valoines, by her attorney, claims *versus* Nicholas de Stutevill [the younger] her *terce* of the honour

of Liddel in Cumberland, and of the whole honour of Russedale in Yorkshire, as the dower wherein her late husband Robert endowed her by grant and will of *Nicholas his father.* Nicholas defends by his attorney, and produces the King's letters of protection, that he should be free of all plaints, as long as his son was in the King's service at Poitou (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, vol. i., p. 101).

The said Robert, son of Nicholas de Stutevill, is mentioned in 1210-12 as a tenant *in capite* (*Red book of the Exchequer*, Rolls Edition, part ii., p. 491). It was he who, in Richard I.'s reign, founded the nunnery of Rosedale among the Yorkshire moors, because the said Sibilla de Valoines gave to that nunnery the church of Torpenhow, and the said Eustace, son of Robert, afterwards confirmed the gift (Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. iv., p. 316).

Nicholas the younger was one of the confederated barons, who assembled at Stamford in 1215, the year of Magna Charta (*Matthew de Paris*, Rolls Edition, vol. ii., p. 585), and he was, at the instance of King John, excommunicated *nominatim* by the Pope in 1216 (*Ibid.*, p. 643). On March 25th, 1216, King John commanded the sheriff of "Carlisle" to give William de Ireby seisin of the land which was Nicholas de Stutevill's in the valley of Liddel (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, vol. i., p. 113). Next year Nicholas was taken prisoner at the battle of Lincoln (March 19th, 1217) and agreed to pay a heavy ransom (see *Cal. Close Rolls*, 8 Hen. III., 1224, p. 600), and in June, 1217, the sheriff of Cumberland was ordered to give Philip de Albiniaco seisin of all the land that belonged to Nicholas de Stutevill (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 1 Hen. III., p. 313), but was told, later in the year, that Nicholas had returned to the King's fealty and service (*Ibid.*, 2 Hen. III., p. 373). Again, on December 18th, 1217, the King directed the sheriff to take into the King's hand the castle and vill of Liddel, and guard it till further instructions. The

reason of this order* may be that Nicholas had, as will be presently mentioned, granted a lease of Liddel to his infant nephew Eustace.

The next entry refers to Eustace de Stutevill *the elder*, whose name occurs in the *Chronicle of Melsa*.

March 30th, 1218. The King commands the sheriff of Warwick to give Nicholas de Stutevill seisin of the manor of Brinklow, which Eustace de Stutevill held, because it appears, by inspection of the charter of the said Nicholas, that Eustace only had that land by lease (*de baillo*) of Nicholas de Stutevill, *father of the said Nicholas*, which land had now come to the said Nicholas, son of Nicholas (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 2 Hen. III., p. 357).

The next two passages relate only to the said *leasehold* title to Liddel—

June 21st, 1219. Robert de Veteripont [sheriff] is commanded to give Saher earl of Winchester, or his messenger the bearer, seisin of the land of Liddel, assigned by Nicholas de Stutevill to *Eustace son of his brother Robert till his majority*, the ward of which land William de Valoines, who held it, bequeathed on his death to the said earl (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, vol. i., p. 127).

July 29th, 1220. The King hearing that Robert de Veteripont has, on account of the reported death of Saher earl of Winchester, disseised Roger de Quinci, his son and heir, of the said land of Liddel (which the deceased earl gave to Roger till the said term) commands him to restore Roger therein (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, vol. i., p. 137).

In 1220-1 Nicholas still owed the King 1,000 marks for his ransom, and had covenanted that, if he did not make punctual payment of any instalment, he was to forfeit £50 rent of his manor of Liddel and other lands. Robert de Stutevill (probably his first cousin) became a surety (*manucaptor*) for the fine. Nicholas was, by the King's writ, discharged from paying the same in 1222-3 (*Madox*, vol. ii., pp. 198, 221). At that time Nicholas

* Mr. J. F. Curwen has given another explanation (these *Transactions*, N.S. x., p. 92).

had only a reversionary interest in Liddel, expectant on the determination of the lease which he had granted to Eustace, until he came of age. Upon the death of Nicholas in 1233 Eustace may have obtained a grant of the inheritance of Liddel from the King, because it is certain that Johanna, heiress of Nicholas, did not obtain possession of Liddel Castle until after Eustace's death in 1241.

The aforesaid Sibilla de Stutevill appears to have died before Candlemas, 1222-3, when the King, for a fine of 50 marks, delivered to Roger de Quinci the ward of the land of Sibilla de Valoines in Torpenhow, which she held *in capite*, the custody of which land pertained to Roger in consequence of the fact that Eustace, her son and heir, was in his ward (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, vol. i., p. 150).

Nicholas the younger had by his wife Devorgoil two daughters, Johanna and Margaret. He gave the elder in marriage to Hugh de Wake without the King's licence, and both father and son-in-law incurred forfeiture of their lands in consequence. Nicholas also attempted to give Margaret in marriage. The King was very angry at these infractions of his right, but, on June 25th, 1229, he pardoned Nicholas, and directed that his lands should be restored to him (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, vol. i., p. 191).

On April 21st, 1230, Nicholas paid a fine that he should not cross the sea with the King at that his first crossing (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 14 Hen. III., p. 337).

The following extract proves the accuracy of the Chronicle of Melsa :—

1233. Sept. 8th. It pleases the King that Nicholas de Stutevill restore the land, which belonged to *Eustace de Stutevill his uncle*, to Robert, son and heir of the said Eustace, and that the same Robert shall thereupon become Nicholas's man, saving fealty to the King, notwithstanding the fact that Robert was born and brought up in parts beyond the sea (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 17 Hen. III., p. 260).

It is the last that is heard of Nicholas de Stutevill. His interest in Liddel had, through his many defaults, been a precarious one.

On November 20th, 1233, Brian de Insula (sheriff of Yorkshire) is commanded to receive from Devorgoil, widow of Nicholas de Stutevill, Margaret his younger daughter, and to deliver her to William de Mastac, to whom the King has given her marriage, and thereafter to assign dower of Nicholas's lands to the said Devorgoil (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, vol. i., p. 220), and at the same time Nicholas's land in Yorkshire was granted in equal shares to Hugh de Wake, in right of Johanna his wife, and to William de Mastac, kinsman of the King, who had obtained the marriage of Margaret, preserving to the former the *esnechia* (elder daughter's privileges) in the inheritance (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 18 Hen. III., p. 340).

In 1233-4 Eustace the younger, who had come of age, gave the King £1,000 to have the like seisin of Cottingham as Nicholas had in his lifetime, *as his right by inheritance* (*Pipe Rolls*, 18 Hen. III., York), and subsequent events make it evident that he obtained from the King a similar grant of Liddel.

On November 13th, 1235, Margaret, whose ward and marriage the King granted to William de Mastac, being dead, the sheriff of York is commanded to give to Hugh de Wake and Johanna seisin of the land in the said William's custody (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, vol. i., p. 227).

The last-mentioned orders are only cited in order to elucidate the family history. They did not apply to Liddel, for that manor appears to have continued meanwhile in the possession of Eustace de Stutevill. Matthew de Paris says (vol. iv., p. 174) that Hugh de Wake and Eustace de Stutevill *migraverunt ad Dominum* in 1241; and on November 2nd of the same year the King writes to the sheriff of Cumberland:—

Johanna, wife of Hugh Wake, has made a fine of £100 to have seisin of the lands of *Eustace de Stutevill her cousin*, which fell to her in heritage, and has secured the King in £50 thereof for her relief (if she ought to give no more) and in £50 which she has offered beyond the same, and the King enjoins him to give her seisin of Eustace's lands *with the castle of Liddel* (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, vol. i., p. 283).

Johanna married, secondly, Hugh de Bigot, afterwards Justiciar of England. At the inquisition *post mortem* of Peter de Tilliol of Scaleby, in 1246, the jury found that the said Peter held Solpert of the barony of Liddel of Sir Hugh Bigot (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, vol. i., p. 313). In 1251 Hugh de Bigot and Johanna his wife appeared by attorney at Westminster, *versus* John de Boulton and Master Peter le Legat, in a plea to keep a convention made between them concerning the manor of Liddel (*Ibid.*, p. 337). Sir Hugh was in the royal army at the battle of Lewes in 1264, but fled from the field. He was dead in 1266, for, on January 20th of that year, the executors of his will appeared by attorney at Westminster *versus* Robert de Mulcastre, in a plea that he should pay them 1,040 marks due from him, and deliver an account for the time when he was Hugh's bailiff at Liddel (*Ibid.*, p. 480).

On Nov. 12th, 1266, an assize enquires who presented the last parson deceased to the church of Arthuret, vacant, which Johanna de Stutevill claims *versus* the abbot of Gedeworth [Jedburgh]. Her attorney says that Robert her ancestor presented Robert his clerk in King John's time, and he was duly instituted and died last as parson. From Robert the right of presentation came to Eustace, his son and heir. He dying without heir of his body, it reverted to Nicholas,* brother of Robert, as his uncle and heir. From him to Johanna as his daughter and heir. The abbot by attorney says he should not answer to the writ, that the church is not vacant, nay is full, for he and his convent hold and have held it *in proprios usus* for twenty years past and more, as of their own patronage (*Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 478).

* The thread of title is being deduced. Nicholas did not actually survive Eustace.

July 18th, 1267. The King grants to Johanna de Stutevill and her heirs a weekly market on Tuesday at her manor of Liddel, and a yearly fair there for eight days, namely the vigil and the day of the Exaltation of the Holy Rood and six days following. Also free warren in all her demesne lands of "Lidel, Arturet, Leveneton, Carwindelawe, Stubhulle, and Eston," except within the bounds of the *King's forest*, and that none enter the same to hunt without Johanna or her heirs' permission, under forfeiture of £10 to the King (*Ibid.*, vol. i., p. 482).

On May 26th, 1272, Johanna was about to set out on a journey to Scotland, and obtained leave to appoint attorneys until the following Pentecost and a full year after (*Ibid.*, p. 544).

Johanna died in 1275-6, and the inquisition held after her death reveals the structure of the barony. There was only *one* manor with four principal divisions, namely, Liddel, Arthuret, Stubhill, and Randolf Levington, and a "ward" at Brackenhill. The lord's mansion was at Liddel, but he had demesne land in every division. The forest contained several *assarts*, that is to say, tracts of waste land, which had been brought into cultivation and surrounded by hedges. The names given to some of these enclosures, Haythwaite, Katkledy (Catlowdy), Stangarthside, Baily, Raeburn, and Gressehope (Kershope) still survive. The last was applied to land formerly given by William de Russedale to the hospital of St. Peter of York.

April 18th, 1276. Inquisition at Carlisle, regarding the lands held by Johanna de Stutevill, made by Adam de Levington and others, before Sir Robert de Hampton, sheriff and escheator, who say that the said Johanna held the barony of Lydel of the King *in capite*. The capital messuage there is worth 5s. 1d. In demesne there are 74½ acres and a rood of land each worth 10d. There is a *claustura* (close) of herbage worth one mark. Eight bovates of land each worth 4s. 6d. Also *forlandes* and *assarts* outside the forest worth £8 15 0½. Likewise *cottars* paying

13s. 6d. The bakery and brewery are worth 12s. The fishing is worth a mark. Also the mill is worth £13 6 8. The advowson of the church of Eston is worth 10 marks. The freeholders pay 2s. 4½d. Likewise from *plough services* 4s.

At Arthureth there is no capital messuage. There are 70 acres and half a rood of land in demesne, each worth 12d. The farmers there hold 31 bovates of land each worth 3s. 6½d. The forlandes there are worth 61s. 2d. The cottars pay 52s. 6d. There are 6½ acres of meadow worth 18s. Also freeholders who pay 9s. 5d. The brewery is worth 7s. Plough services 5s. The mill is worth £13 6 8.

At Stubhille there is no capital messuage. There are 27 acres in demesne each worth 8d. There are 24 bovates each worth 2s. 8½d. The cottars there pay 13s. 2d. There is a meadow paying 6s., and forlandes worth 15s. Also the services of free men 2s.

At Randolf Levington there is no capital messuage. There are in demesne 33½ acres 1½ rood of land each worth 12d. There are 30½ bovates each worth 2s. 6d. The forlandes return 10s. 0½d. The cottars pay 15s. 3d. The brewery returns 8s. 2d. The *carriages* are worth 6s. 8d. The freeholders pay 3s. 3d. The marsh is worth 12d., and the mill £9.

There is a *Ward* there in Bracanhille, in demesne 14 acres worth 20s., and 10½ bovates each worth 2s. The cottars pay 4s. 8d., and the freeholders 5s. 8d.

There is a *forest* at Lydel, wherein is an assart with herbage called "Haytwayt" worth 24s. 11d. There is another assart with herbage, enclosed within a hedge, called "Mortwayt" worth 34s. 6d., and another called "Crosefeld" worth £4 13 5½; another with herbage within a hedge called "Katkledy," worth £4 2 6; also another enclosure within a hedge called "Standgarthesyde" worth 72s. 5½d.; also another called "Langland" within a hedge worth 33s. 2d. A free man holds an assart called "Brundscale" worth half a mark.

There is also in the forest an assart with herbage called "Gressehope" worth £4 10 4; a close called "Baylli" worth 63s. 2d.; another called "Quelpedale" worth 35s. 7d.; another called "Nethyrbaylli" worth £6 9 3½; another called "Catgarthe" worth 50s.; another called "Raburne" worth 62s. 6d.; and another called "Wygarthetwayt" worth £4 7 2.

A *fulling mill* worth 8s., and a water mill worth £9 6 8.

Sir Baldewyn de Wake, son of the said Lady Johanna, is her nearest heir and is of full age and more. (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, vol. ii., p. 18.)

The " forland " was a small plot of demesne land leased to a farmer or settler. It was not subject to the regulations of the common field, but was managed in severalty by the tenant (Vinogradoff, *Growth of the Manor*, p. 330).

The " assart," reclaimed from the waste, was an encroachment on the tenants' right of common pasture, and its mode of tenure and cultivation was a matter of agreement rather than custom.

The " cottar " (*cottarius*) had no share in the common field, but held a cottage and small croft (Vinogradoff, *Villainage in England*, p. 148). The valuation of the neighbouring manor of Scaleby, made in 1246, mentions six cottars holding 6 cottages and 14 acres (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, vol. i., p. 313).

Baldwin de Wake survived his mother only six years, and died 1281-2, when another inquisition *post mortem* was held. It is none the less interesting because it follows so closely upon the heels of the former one, and it furnishes a good example of the mode in which a manor was " extended," or valued, at that day. In both inquisitions occur curious terms, unnoticed or insufficiently explained by the Law Dictionaries.

March 18th, 1281-2. Extent of the manor of Lydel, in Cumberland, of which Baldwin Wake was seised in demesne as of fee at his death, with its *members* Stubhille, Arthuret, and Levington, made at Lydel, before Master Henry de Bray, by oath of Hugh de Levington and others, who say that there is at Lydel the site of a *castle* containing these domiciles, namely, a wooden hall with two solars and cellars, a chapel, a kitchen, a byre, a grange, and a wooden granary, which threaten ruin ; but might now be repaired for 5 marks : not extended, as they need more yearly keeping up than they can be let for. There are 65½ acres and one rood of land in demesne, by the *perch of eighteen feet*, rendering yearly 32 *skeps* and 12½ *wyndells* of oat meal, namely each one half a skep, each skep worth, one year with another, 6s. 8d. Note that each skep contains 16 windells, and sixteen windells make the quarter of a *lond and a half*. Total £10 18 6. There are 2½ acres of meadow in demesne, the acres worth 10d. and the half acre 12d.

There is a *park*, containing half a league in precinct, wherein 60 oxen or cows may be kept in grazing time, the pasture of each worth 6d., total 30s. There are no deer there, it being only enclosed for oxen and cows.

There is a forest called "Nichole foreste" seven *leagues* in length, whereof four are of three leagues breadth, and the remaining three of one league's breadth by estimate. The *pannage* of the forest and park is worth 30s., and cannot be extended to more, as there are few oaks. The forest is let as appears below. The grazing is not extended, for the tenants dwelling therein feed it with their *avers*, under their right of common pasture. There may be sold in the forest of dead wood yearly, without destruction or waste, 100s. Forty nine *free farmers* pay £11 14 2., and in the forest 139 free farmers pay £87 9 6. There are three *neifs*, whose rent is 16s. 6d. All these, both farmers and neifs, must come to the lord's court whenever warned, and thrice by custom. And they of the forest must preserve the nests of sparrow-hawks and eagles.

There is a *bakery* in the vill of Lydel, extended to 2s. and no more, for no one hires it. There are two water mills, not here extended but below, also a fulling mill extended to 4s. and no more, for it has no wheel.

There are some breweresses, who give *de suo* for licence to brew, extended to 8s., and in the forest likewise, who give 8d. There is a fishery there extended to 13s. 4d.

There are certain freeholders holding a land called *Kaerwyndlo*, and they must plough and reap; such service extended to 4s. 11d.

The pleas, profits, *vassalages*, and *grassums* of Lydel are extended to 26s. 8d. There are some paupers there called *Selfodes*, who give *de suo* to be housed, extended to 3s. 4d.

There are some *gresmen* in the forest, who give *de suo* for grazing, extended to 12s. 3½d. There are some who give *vassalage* extended to 11s. 6d. The grassums of the forest tenants are extended at £8. *Mortuaries*, *marchetes*, pleas, and profits, are extended at £7.

Freeholders of Lydel. Geoffrey de Tyllyol, Robert de la Ferete, Walter de Mulcastre, Simon de Lyndesey, Richard de Crakenthorpe, Geoffry de Brantingham, Robert de Arturet, Isabella Ryote, Thomas de Crofel, Matillidis *fitz* Stephen, Richard *de Kirkebride*, John de Eston, Robert de Eston, William de Scalebosk, Robert *fitz* Herbert, the heirs of Alicia *de Netherby*, William son of Adam de Karewandelowe, John *de Creshope*, William Sturion, Agnes de la More, John de Hardegile, Emma

fitz Vivian, the Prior of Carlisle, and Richard de Brakenhile all hold by cornage, and make suit at the lord's mills and at the court of Stubhille from three weeks to three weeks.

Note that each of their tenants must *plough once a year, and reap for a day in autumn*, which works are elsewhere extended, except the tenants of the Prior of Carlisle and John de Eston.

There are 4 *mills* in the said forest extended to £16, and another to 8s. There are also in Lydel, Stubhil, Arturet, and Levington 5 water mills extended to £50.

Note that the forest tenants shall keep up the mills within the forest, at their own charges, with the lord's timber, and in like manner the tenants of Lydel, Stubhil, Arturet, and Levington, the mills in the bounds of these several *townships*, except the mill on Eske, which the lord shall keep up at his own charges.

The chase of the forest and sparrowhawks are extended to 45s. yearly. There is the advowson of the church of Eston worth 10 marks yearly.

There are at Stubhill, *a member of Lydel*, 22½ acres of arable land, each paying half a skep of oatmeal, the *half-skep extended to* 3*s*. 4*d*. Walter de Mulcastre pays yearly 15s., Emma daughter of Vivian pays yearly 12d. There are 23 free farmers, paying yearly £8 and fifteen pence.

From *autumn services* there 13d. There are two neyfs, paying yearly 20s. A house in the lord's hand is extended to 4s. Some breweresses there give for licence yearly 12d. *Wreck* there is extended to 2s. There are some paupers there called *selfodes*, who give *de suo* for having shelter, extended to 4d. Grassums, gresmen, fines, pleas and profits, extended to 40s.

There are in Arthuret in demesne 111½ acres and 1½ rood of arable land, each acre returning half a skep, price *ut supra*, total £18 12 11. There are 51 free farmers, whose rents are extended to £19 2 10. There are four neyfs paying yearly 61s. 2d. Autumn services there extended to 9s. 2d. There are 5 acres of meadow in demesne called "Halle Enge" extended to 24s. Breweresses *ut supra* paying yearly for licence 7s.

At Carlisle six tenants hold *burgages* of the lord paying yearly 40s.

The liberty of the men of *Roceland and Salom in Scotland* of free pasture in the fields of Arthuret is extended to 7s. The liberty of fowling there is extended to 18d. The *prestation* (payment) of selfodes there is extended to 8d. Grassums, gresmen, mortuaries, marchets, fines, pleas, and perquisites, there are extended to 100s.

There are at Levington, *a member of Lydel*, 33½ acres and 1½ rood in demesne, each paying half a skep, value *ut supra*, worth yearly 112s. 11d. There are 32 free farmers, whose rents are extended to £12 19 2. Autumn services there are extended to 3s. 2d. Prestation of breweresses there for leave to brew is extended to 8s. 2d., of selfodes to 4d. Grassums, merchets, gresmen, fines, pleas, and perquisites, 40s.

There are in Brakenhulle two tenants holding three bovates of land, who pay 17s. Note that 11 bovates of land in Lydel, 11 in Carwendelowe, 24 in Stubhille, 8 in Speresels, 40 in Arthuret, 40 in Levington, 16 in Eston, 8 in North Eston, 4 in Brakenhull, and 4 in Little Brakenhulle, are held of the lord by cornage, and the freeholders of those lands pay yearly to the lord *instead of the said cornage* 56s., and the lord shall answer to the sheriff of Cumberland for the King's use. And they make suit to the lord's court of Stubhill from three weeks to three weeks, and suit to the mills, and owe *ward*, and *relief*, and *aid* to make the lord's eldest son a knight, and to marry his daughter. The jury append their seals. Total extent £295 16 2. (*Cat. Doc. Scot.*, vol. ii., p. 63.)

List of knights' fees and serjeanties belonging to the manor of Lydel (Endorsed upon the foregoing inquisition, 10 Edw. I., 1281-2) :—

William son of Thomas de Craystok holds half a knight's fee in Dreg' (Drigg) in Couplonde. The lady of Aldingham in Furneys holds half a fee in Dreg'.

Holders by Cornage.

Robert de Mulcastre holds the *manor of Torpennou*, except the ⅙ part of the same, worth yearly £20. Richard le Brun holds the ⅙ part of the same manor worth yearly 5 marks. Robert de la Ferte holds the *manor of Brunestache* worth £20 yearly. Geoffry de Tillol holds the *manor of Solporte* worth yearly £20. John de Eston holds Eston, worth yearly 6 marks. Walter de Mulcastre holds North Eston, worth yearly 100s. The same holds a tenement in Arthuret and Stubhille, worth 60s. yearly. Richard de Kirkebride holds in *Randulves Levington*, worth 40s. yearly. Benedict de Mulcastre's heir holds a tenement in Brakenhulle worth 60s. yearly. Robert de Arthuret holds a tenement in Arthuret worth 10s. yearly. Robert de Crawendelowe and his parceners hold Karwendelowe, worth yearly 10

marks. The heir of *Hugh de Folom* (? Solom) holds land in Arthuret worth 40s. yearly. Emma Vivien holds land in Stubhille worth 10s. yearly. John Hardegille holds land in Eston worth 20s. yearly. Walter de Cormesby holds a tenement in Slamede worth 20s. yearly. Walter Sturion holds a tenement in Lidel worth 30s. yearly. Agnes de la More holds land in the same worth 13s. 4d. yearly. The Church of Eston is worth 10 marks yearly and belongs to the *manor of Lidel.* Value of goods and chattels found at Lidel £46 13 3. (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, vol. ii., p. 65.)

The following comments may assist the perusal of the above-abstracted inquisition. It will be recollected that Helewisa de Levington's mansion at Kirklinton was valued in 1272 at 5s. only, and her park was let for grazing at 40s. a year (these *Transactions*, N.S. xii., p. 62). The equations, 18 feet=1 perch, and 1 skep=16 windells=1½ lond=1 quarter=6s. 8d., are instructive. According to Wright (*English Dialect Dictionary*), the windle was usually a bushel, but, at the present day, the standard quarter contains only 8 bushels. The dimensions of the forest indicate that the league at that time and place was equivalent to an English mile. Avers (*averia*) were beasts of draught or burden (*Spelman*), and *averus* signified a farm horse (Glossary in *Hoveden*, iv., p. 193). Neifs were villains—usually female villains (*nativæ*). They appear to be here contrasted with the free farmers.

There is hardly any direct allusion in this document to servile tenure, but the above-cited inquisition of 1246, relating to Scaleby, mentions twenty *bondi*, who there held 31 oxgangs, worth 4s. each, in *bondage*. Murray treats the terms grassum and gressome as variants of *gersum*, which he defines as "a premium or fine paid to a feudal superior on *entering* upon a holding." For a local instance of such payment by the tenant see these *Transactions*, N.S. xi., p. 246. Gresman had an analogous meaning, for, according to Jamieson, grassman, or gerseman, is the tenant of a cottage with no land attached

to it, who pays *gersum* at his entry upon the lease. Such a tenant, in mediæval times, would obtain little in return for his gersum but grazing on the common pasture, and the spelling "grassum" and "grassman" seems to originate from a very ancient confusion of ideas.

Mortuary was a fine payable in general to the parish priest, but sometimes, as here, to the lord of the manor as well (Glossary in Kenneth's *Antiquities*).

Merchet was a fine paid by the villain to his lord for leave to give his daughter in marriage: (Vinogradoff, *Villainage*, p. 153).

The men of Roceland and Solom "in Scotland," who had free pasture in the fields of Arthuret, were probably dwellers in what was afterwards called the "Debateable land." The mention of "wreck" implies that the lord's rights extended to the sea-shore. At an inquisition held in 1280 concerning ancient customs, the jury found that it was the duty of everybody who had been robbed to go, within the day or night after the robbery, to Brunscaythe on the English side, and to Rocheland on the Scottish side, and there publish the fact (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, vol. ii., p. 59). Brunscaythe is perhaps the same as the manor of Brunstache, held of Baldwin de Wake by Robert de la Feretate, *alias* Robert le Brun of Drumburgh. A certain Hugh de Solum was one of the jury at the above-mentioned inquisition of 1246 concerning Scaleby, and the heir of Hugh de Folom (*sic*) held land at Arthuret of Baldwin de Wake. The chapel of Sollum is referred to in 1343 (these *Transactions*, N.S. xii., p. 54), and Solway moss is sometimes called "Sollum moss." Our Editor suggests the etymology Sol-holme; compare Solport.

The list of knights' fees is interesting, on account of its frequent allusions to old localities. Here occurs early mention of Netherby. The map in Hutchinson's *Cumberland* shows that the road between Longtown and Netherby used to run nearer to the river than at present. There

is, by the way, a reference in 1557 to "Netherby citadel" (State Papers, *Dom. Add. Mary*, p. 451). It can hardly have been an ancient work like Liddel Mote, and a letter of Lord Wharton, written nine years previously, may explain the puzzling expression—"Lord Dacre has said it would be convenient to make a fortress at Netherby, where Richard Graham dwells" (*Ibid., Dom. Add., Edw. VI.*, p. 385). The manorial court was held at Stubhill. It is surprising therefore that its site should be forgotten. Its name is coupled in 1528 with Stubleholm and Stublepath, so I have placed it conjecturally in the immediate vicinity of Peth, near Longtown (these *Transactions*, N.S. xii., p. 41). Peth, a Scotch expression for a steep narrow way, occurs also in "Clattering peth" at Glingerburn foot.

The name Arthuret was believed by some to be derived from that of King Arthur, and, in connection with that belief, one may note the term "Arthur's Seat," applied by the Ordnance Survey to a hill in the uttermost part of Bewcastle parish; also "Arthur's Cross," placed by Donald's Map upon the right bank of the Carwinley stream, five miles south-west of Arthur's Seat.

The occupier of the cottage called "Arthurseat House" tells me that the adjacent common was formerly known as "Arthurseat," because King Arthur once took his seat there. I have heard the name pronounced "Arthurside."

At the 13th milestone on the road to Penton a small stream traverses a meadow and enters a pasture field. In the south-east corner of the latter there were formerly two thatched dwellings, and in the same pasture field "a stone which no one might lift," known as "Arthur's cross," though it bore no resemblance to a cross. The stone was, however, lifted and the site ploughed. My informant is Mr. Lawson of Dykehead.

It is very doubtful whether the two last-mentioned

localities derive their names from the mythic hero of Celtic lore. But Dr. Barnes, in a fascinating article contributed to these *Transactions*, N.S. viii., p. 236, has supported the theory* that Arthuret is *Ardderyd*, where, about the year 573, the adherents of Rhydderch the Christian gained a great victory over Gwenddolau the Pagan, and that Carwinley is Caer-Wenddolau, the stronghold of the said Gwenddolau.

In the above-abstracted inquisition of 1281-2 it is spelt *Kaerwyndlo*, and a family took its surname from the place. When Nicholas de Stutevill made a benefaction to the Nunnery of Keldholm, founded by one of his ancestors near Pickering, Robert de Karwindelaw was a witness to the deed of gift (Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vol. v., p. 665).

Liddel, so far as I have observed, is first styled a barony in the aforesaid inquisition of 1246 relating to Scaleby, though it consisted of but one manor, then and later in Richard II.'s reign, when it is described as "the barony with its members [not manors], vills, hamlets, and parcels," and still continued to be held *in capite* by the ancient service of 56s. yearly of cornage, at the Carlisle exchequer, at the Assumption of the Blessed Mary (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, vol. iv., p. 63).

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* The equation of Arthuret with Ardderyd comes from Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, from which Sir John Rhys quotes in *Celtic Britain* (1882), p. 143.

ART. III.—*Report on the recent explorations at Dog Holes, Warton Crag.* By J. WILFRID JACKSON, F.G.S. (Manchester Museum).

Read at Carlisle, June 27th, 1912.

THANKS to the kind interest and generosity of this Society, the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, and several other friends, I have been enabled to devote a fortnight of my vacation this year to making further investigations at Dog Holes, Warton Crag.

In the course of these investigations several interesting objects were met with, along with the usual evidences of human occupation of the cave, such as charcoal, burnt and split bones, pottery, etc.

The most important find was a weaving comb made from red-deer antler, which agrees in many respects with similar combs found in excavating the Late Celtic Lake Village, at Glastonbury. This interesting object measures $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length and is $1\frac{3}{8}$ inches in breadth at the toothed end, narrowing towards the base to $\frac{5}{8}$ of an inch, and then widening out abruptly to form a cross piece $1\frac{3}{8}$ by $\frac{1}{2}$ inch at the end. It possesses eight prongs, fairly regular in their length, and is beautifully ornamented on its rounded side with a closely-arranged trellis pattern separated at intervals by straight lines.

Combs of this character, but generally plain, have occurred at several places in the North of England. One was found at Lancaster in 1850 associated with Roman and other remains, and is now in the Liverpool Museum. This specimen is unornamented, but the dentated end possesses the unusual number of sixteen teeth, of which ten are perfect.

Others have been found at the following places :—one near Stanwick Church, Yorks. ; one in the Dowkerbottom Cave, Craven ; and another in the Roman Baths at Hunnum, Haltwhistle, Northumberland.

Another interesting object found at Dog Holes consists of a circular bronze button 1¼ inches in diameter. The face is ornamented by a central boss and an outer raised ring situated well within the edge. The back possesses a short rounded shank, placed centrally and at right angles to the face, to which is attached a triangular flattened piece which runs parallel with the face. The triangle is not solid throughout, but possesses an open central triangular area as if to accommodate a strap or similar object. The precise application of this interesting find is uncertain, but its appearance suggests its use as a belt or sword fastener.*

Amongst the other objects of interest found at the cave are one or two highly oxidised iron tools ; a narrow strip of lead ; three polished bone pins or awls ; large and small flint flakes, and some fragments of Late-Celtic pottery, similar to that found in previous excavations.

The above miscellaneous objects were not all associated together, but were discovered in different parts of the cave. The flint flakes were found in close proximity to several interesting human remains, comprising an almost complete skull, unfortunately badly broken up by the fall of large limestone blocks from the roof and walls of the cave. A human lower jaw found near by is remarkable in being without traces of the sockets for the second premolar on either side, a parallel instance being recorded from this cave in 1910 in which the second premolar and sockets were also absent on either side.

Whether any significance can be attached to this

* Similar objects were discovered in Manchester during excavations at Castlefield, and were designated "Cloak Fasteners." See *Roman Fort at Manchester*, 1909, p. 158, pl. 90, fig. 14 and pl. 92, fig. 14.

curious circumstance is uncertain, but it is a known fact that certain tribes to-day are in the habit of knocking out a particular tooth as a mark of chieftainship. It appears possible that some such custom may have obtained in bygone times.

All the remaining teeth are present or represented by their sockets. They are remarkably free from traces of decay, but, as is usual in prehistoric skulls, they are worn down to a uniform level by friction brought about from the mastication of gritty food.

The total number of human remains met with up to the present in this cave represents quite a score of individuals, fifteen being discovered in one chamber alone. This fact seems to indicate that the place was used repeatedly as a sepulchre, the confined nature of the cave precluding the idea of a wholesale burial.

The precise age to which these interments belong is somewhat doubtful ; they certainly antedate considerably the later Romano-British occupation of the cave, as they occurred deeper down in the clayey débris. As mentioned in my previous Reports on this cave, the burials greatly resemble those of the Bronze Age in the sepulchral cave at Gop, near Prestatyn, Flintshire.*

The most interesting animal remains found in association with the human remains were the teeth and limb-bones of the extinct wild ox (Bos primigenius) ; antler, limb-bones and teeth of red deer ; antler and limb-bones of roebuck ; molar teeth and tusks of wild boar—one of the tusks having been worked into an ornament and perforated at one end as if for suspension as a charm.

Hopes had been entertained that the weights used in

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* There is some probability of their being referable to the earlier part of that period, as associated with them was a fragment of ornamented rude pottery seemingly pertaining to the beaker class.

The remains, too, present many features common to the Iberic people of the Neolithic Age. They belong to a short race, about 5 feet 4 inches in height, and the skulls exhibit marked dolicho-cephalic tendencies. Signs of fusion with the later round-headed Goidelic race seem scarcely apparent.

connection with the beautifully preserved bronze balance, found at this cave in 1910, would be met with, but, though much time and arduous work were expended in search of these, they failed to reveal themselves. This is much to be regretted, as a decision upon the age of these scales rests largely upon the standard to which the weights conform, *i.e.*, Late-Celtic or Roman. Sir C. Hercules Read (British Museum) has referred the scales to probably late Roman date (4th or 5th century), but the style and ornamentation (dot and circle design) seems suggestive of Celtic influence.

In concluding this Report I should like to emphasize the extreme difficulty encountered in working the cave owing to the large size of the fallen limestone blocks and the want of proper facilities for their easy removal. To this can also be added the unfavourable weather conditions, which considerably hampered continuous work.

SKULL AND ANTLERS OF RED-DEER FOUND IN THE ESTUARY OF THE GILPIN.

TO FACE P. 59.

ART. IV.—*On the occurrence of a portion of the Skull and Antlers of Red-deer of exceptionally large size in the Estuary of the Gilpin.* By PROFESSOR T. MCKENNY HUGHES, M.A., F.R.S., F.S.A., F.G.S.

Read at Carlisle, June 27th, 1912.

ANY one travelling north by train, from Arnside to Kendal, may see on the other side of the water, as he is passing along the margin of the estuary of the Kent, near Sandside Station, a sea wall thrown up to protect the low land which extends from the foot of the crags of Meathop up to the present tidal channel. He will notice that this wall is interrupted for a considerable distance, and on closer inspection he can clearly read, in undermined and uprooted piles and broken masses of masonry lying about, the story of the combination of wind and tide which caused the sea to overflow the bank, tear out a great gap, and take back into the open estuary what had been enclosed and cultivated years before with great labour and at great expense.

The sea outside rose higher than the enclosed land behind the bank, and, when a breach had been made, it rushed through the gap and fell in a tremendous waterfall upon the soft alluvial silt, scooping out, where it entered, a hole some 60 feet in depth.

Out of this there was washed a portion of the skull of a stag with the whole of one antler attached and about half of the other. This was a conspicuous object, and fortunately attracted the attention of an inhabitant of Beathwaite Green, from whom it was secured for me by Mrs. Benson of Hyning.

These antlers were chiefly remarkable for their great

thickness. They were not much longer than others which have been found in the Fens of Cambridgeshire, being only 33 inches from the base of the burr to the highest point. Round the burr, however, they measured 12½ inches, that is only ½ inch less than the large Irish Elk in the Sedgwick Museum. Round the shank, just below the bez-antler, they were 6½ inches.

It is interesting to note that the Fen stags were much larger than any found in Scotland at the present time. The skeleton of an average Fen stag stands 48 inches as compared with 39, the height of an average modern Scotch stag. This degeneracy has been by some accounted for by the ambition of deer stalkers to secure the largest and finest heads, so that the best get killed off.

The Gilpin stag, judging from what has been preserved of him, must have been enormously greater than any now found in Scotland, and even than the largest Fen specimen known. It resembled in size the splendid stags which we now and then hear of as killed in the forests of Hungary. Some very large antlers are recorded from cave deposits in England, and one of about the same size as that from the Gilpin was not long ago found in a fissure in the rock at Mount Sorrel.

It is a pity that there was no one to search the washed-out silt of the Gilpin for the rest of the bones, which we might have expected to find there, for these were not shed antlers; also for other remains which might have helped us to make out the age of the deposit and the conditions which prevailed in the Gilpin valley in those days.

Some interesting questions are raised in this connection. The Duddon sands, the Leven sands, and the estuary of the Kent and Gilpin are all what the Americans call "drowned" valleys, that is, valleys which, long after they had been scooped out by their rivers, were submerged so that the river could cut no deeper but only

helped the advancing sea to silt up the valley, forming bars and banks and shoals, and at last alluvial plains and peat bogs.

Before the land went down and let the sea over-run the low lands and creep up the valleys to the foot of the mountains, these were tributaries of the great valley which now forms the central deep of the Irish Channel.

Such valleys cannot be formed under the sea, so we must speculate, at any rate, upon such amount of elevation as would allow Ireland and England to be united—and of course the Lake mountains were raised in proportion. The mountain slopes in summer and the rich lowlands in winter, with extensive woodlands on both, would have furnished a suitable home over which his ancestors may have roamed, but the silt of the Gilpin, in which this stag was found, cannot have been formed till the whole of the great valley between England and Ireland and the tributary valleys, among them that of the Gilpin, had sunk beneath the waves. For not till then could the estuarine silt have been formed in which the Gilpin stag was found. Thus by geographical reasoning we can assign a relative age to this interesting specimen.

ART. V.—*Notes on the Westmorland Assize Roll of A.D. 1256.* By ARTHUR P. BRYDSON, M.A.

Communicated at Carlisle, June 27th, 1912.

THE Roll of this Assize is the only complete record of an Assize held in Westmorland during the fifty-six years of the reign of Henry III., from 1216 to 1272. It is thus noteworthy as a perfect example of the local administration of justice in the thirteenth century. Both in its civil and criminal portions it should be well worth printing in full; the few selections made for this article have been chosen in order to present as complete a variety as possible of the different cases which came before the cognizance of the Court.

The judicial methods were in the main painstaking and equitable, but the exactions of the itinerant justices, who were established in 1166 by Henry II., brought a large revenue to the Crown. While they enabled an extravagant and impecunious king, like Henry III., to resist reasonable demands of reform, they turned a system which had been popular and beneficial into a measure of oppression. A very large sum of money was raised from the villages and towns which did not arrest or present a wrong-doer, while nearly every one who appeared before the Court, whether appellant, defendant or surety, was fined or "put in mercy." Failure to attend the eyre, accidental death, wrong value put on property, were fit subjects for a fine, and the possessions of a man outlawed or hung went to the Crown. In most cases of conviction the accused was outlawed; if caught he was at once beheaded or hanged, or if he fled he betook himself to the army, which was partly recruited from the criminal classes; the Patent Rolls teem with pardons

granted by the king for good service in his wars: it was the outlaw's one chance of redemption. The privilege of sanctuary was claimed by certain churches and monasteries; if the criminal fled thither he had a reasonable prospect of at least temporary escape from justice. In the case of a false charge, it recoiled on the accuser, as, if he failed to substantiate it, it was he who was heavily fined.

Of the judges who held the Assize at Appleby in 1256, only the name of Roger de Thurkleby is specified on the roll: there were at least two others who figure as his "socii." Roger de Thurkleby was one of the most famous of the judges of Henry III.'s reign: he appears to have held jurisdiction at different times all over England. The first mention of his name occurs in 1242, when he received the king's commission to adjudicate concerning a ship of merchandise and fishing rights at Dunwich, a port which has now disappeared beneath the encroachments of the sea. In 1246 he held the eyre at Lancaster, in conjunction with Gilbert de Preston, Master Simon de Wauton and John de Cobham. In 1251 he was appointed, with John de Goddesden, Robert de Brynes, Gilbert de Preston and John de Cobham, as justices in eyre for common pleas in counties York, Northumberland, Westmorland, Cumberland and Lancashire, to begin the eyre in county York on the morrow of Easter. In the same year he was appointed as arbitrator in a dispute between Richard, Earl of Cornwall (brother of Henry III.) and Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, and also commissioned to amerce and fine those who charged money contrary to the law and custom of the realm in counties York and Derby. Again, in 1252, together with the Bishop of Carlisle, he held pleas at Nottingham, Warwick and Leicester;—this Bishop, Sylvester de Everdon, was he who at the request and in the presence of Henry III. solemnly excommunicated and cursed

with bell, book, and candle the infringers of the liberties of England. In 1253 he was granted 100 marks a year at the Exchequer so long as he was in the king's service (in modern value about £1,300 a year); and in the same year heard at Sheppy complaints of shipping and damages between the Baron of Winchelsea and the men of Jernemuth (Yarmouth). In 1255 he held an inquiry into the king's rights in the southern counties, and in the same year by his counsel various privileges were sealed under the seal of England. In 1256 he held the eyre (of this article) at Appleby, and in the same year was called upon to inquire into the "horrible crime lately perpetrated in the City of Lincoln, the crucifixion of a Christian boy by Jews." He also went on eyre with the Bishop of Peterborough in Lincoln, Norfolk and Suffolk. In 1258, with others, he was appointed to hold the King's Bench at Westminster until further order. His death apparently occurred in 1260, for in that year a mandate was issued to the prior and convent of Kyrkeham in Yorkshire to deliver the whole of what Roger de Thurkleby had deposited with them, and what he had left to the executors of his will for the execution of his will by the said executors. A like mandate was issued to the prior and convent of Browholm and Melton. On July 22nd, 1260, Gilbert de Preston was appointed to succeed Roger de Thurkleby, "who was deceased since the king appointed him when he (the king) was beyond the seas."

Let us see what became of the issues or profits of the Assize of 1256. In that year the king issued a mandate to Roger de Thurkleby, the Abbot of Peterborough, and the Sheriffs of Westmorland that whereas he had no money to pay for his purchases at Boston fair, except from the eyres of the northern counties, the sheriffs were to collect all the money at their command and deliver it to the king's messengers at Boston, and to provide for the king with all speed, as they would save him from

loss and perpetual scandal. Again, later in the same year, Henry ordered that the issues of the eyres in Westmorland, Cumberland and Lancashire should be paid to make up arrears to Simon de Montfort and Eleanor his wife, the king's sister, for money (600 marks) due to her from the heirs of William Earl Marshall, which 600 marks the king is bound to render to the Countess every year. Apparently there was not sufficient profit from the eyre to satisfy both these demands, for next year Roger de Thurkleby and the other justices entered into a bond for 514 marks on behalf of the king, who promised to save them harmless, to pay the said sum to Simon de Montfort out of the issues of the next eyre.

The Rolls themselves were always guarded with great care: at the end of the eyre they were deposited in the Treasury of the Exchequer at Westminster. Occasionally they were required for reference at the next eyre. Thus in 1278 an order was made to the treasurer and chamberlains to deliver to John de Metyngham, one of the justices going on eyre in Westmorland, Cumberland and Northumberland, all the rolls of the last eyre of Roger de Thurkleby and his fellows, and also of the eyre of Gilbert de Preston and his fellows, to be restored to the treasurer and chamberlain at the end of the eyre: and in 1279 a mandate was issued to Elias de Sutton, King's clerk, to attend to the custody of writs and rolls and the chirography of the justices in eyre for Westmorland, to which he has been appointed by the Bishop of Bath and Wells, the Chancellor, with mandate to the justices to deliver to him the writs and chirography.

The local machinery of justice was not dependent on the itinerant justices, who then as now were but the mouthpiece of the law. The Sheriff* was the real power

* The Sheriff, or Vicecomes, of Westmorland at the date of this Assize was William de Steynton. He rendered an account of the amercements made by Roger de Thurkleby and his fellows " de Misericordiis hominum et Villarum

before whom the malefactor trembled. As keeper of the King's peace, he was bound *ex officio* to pursue and take all traitors, murderers, felons, and other misdoers and commit them to gaol for safe custody: for this purpose he could command all the people of the county to attend him, which was called the *posse comitatus* or power of the county, and this summons every person over fifteen years of age and under the degree of baron was bound to attend upon warning under pain of fine and imprisonment. Apparently the office of sheriff, perhaps on account of the odium attached to it, was not the object of every one's ambition; thus, in 1257, the year after the assize, exemption was granted to Thomas de Segrave, of the county of Westmorland, from being made sheriff, and put on assizes, recognitions and juries, in consideration of his services in Wales at the instance of Robert de Veteri Ponte his lord. A little later we find a complaint from the men of the Baronies of Kendal and Westmorland that whereas the sheriff ought to and did have two horse serjeants and two foot serjeants only for his business, now there are four, and not content with accustomed competent lodgings, they extort many lodgings and as many payments as possible for such lodgings, and compel the men of the Baronies to come to certain assemblies which they call the sheriff's tourn and cause innocent people to be molested for larcenies and other offences and to be imprisoned and detained until heavy ransoms are extorted from them, and continually inflict other injuries on them. Geoffrey de Nevill and William de Norburgh were appointed by the King to inquire into the justice of these complaints.

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quorum nominibus preponitur littera 't' in rotulo de eodem itinere quem prædicti liberaverunt in thesauro." The proceeds of the eyre amounted to £223 10s. 10d., of which sum he paid £171 into the Treasury, and £57 to Roger de Ros and Hugh de Turri, keepers of the King's Wardrobe for purchases by the King at Boston and Stamford fairs; "et habet de Superplusagio iiii lb. ix. s. iid." Among those who were fined was William de Steynton himself "pro contemptu" (*Pipe Rolls for Westmorland and Cumberland*: edited by F. H. M. Parker).

In spite of the parade of justice Westmorland, during the thirteenth century, retained a lawless spirit, doubtless aggravated by the unsettled state of the Borders. Shortly after the Assize of 1256 a royal mandate was sent from Gloucester to Roger de Leiburn and Roger de Clifford, keepers of the peace in the county of Westmorland, and to the sheriffs, that, considering the damage committed during the late disturbance, on sight of these letters the king's peace is to be proclaimed in boroughs, market and other towns and in the parish churches, and to be firmly held, and every one is prohibited under peril of life and limb and loss of his lands to go armed throughout the county or to carry arms of offence (*arma hostilia*) in public or to run in (*irruere*) upon any one without the king's special leave or mandate, and if any infringe this they are to be arrested without further order and the names of the offenders must be sent to the king at Winchester by the Octave of the Nativity of the Virgin.

In 1285 the statute of Winchester was enacted by Edward I., further to insure the maintenance of peace. In 1287, to carry it into effect, a commission was given to William de Stirkeland and Robert le Englys to enforce the statute of Winchester in the county of Westmorland, and to preserve the peace which, as it appears, by divers persons was not kept. This commission was issued because the justices appointed to take assize in different parts of the kingdom did not go every year as often as was ordered, whereby default in the execution of the statute could not be presented: the commissioners were to receive such presentations and otherwise attend to the execution of the said statute in Westmorland. Commissioners were also appointed to select, arm and array men for the preservation of the peace, furnished with haketons, hauberks, bacenets (helmets of iron), and gauntlets of steel, likewise with knives, gisarmes, and bows and arrows, and the sheriffs were bound to keep

horses and armour to follow the hue and cry after the malefactors. This armour, for police purposes only, and not sufficient for the defence of the realm against foreign invasion, was provided at the expense of the commonalty of the county, and was to be kept by the commonalties of the towns until the selected men set out, and upon their return was to be restored to the custody of the county, and the selected men were to be arrayed in twenties and hundreds.

The following extracts from the Assize Roll have been transcribed almost verbatim from the original Latin: in cases where the "etc." is placed at the end of a sentence it is so put in the original: words in parentheses, except those in Latin, are not in the original.

ASSIZE ROLL. 979.

(M. 1.) Pleas of Juries and Assize at Appelby for the County of Westmorland, of the eyre of Roger de Thurkelby and his fellow justices, on Monday next after the Ascension of Our Lord in the 40th year of the reign of King Henry III. (A.D. 1256).

(M. 1.) The Assize came to take cognizance if Beatrix, daughter of Eda de Langedale, the paternal aunt of John son of Roger, was seised in her demesne as of fee of the moiety of one messuage, one acre, and three roods of land and of one acre of meadow with appurtenances in Langdale on the day when etc. And if etc.: which tenements Gervase de Sedberg and Cecilia his wife hold. Who come and say that the Assize ought not to be made thereupon. Because they say that the same Beatrix has a certain brother Adam by name born before Roger father of the aforesaid John. And John acknowledges this, and it is resolved that the aforesaid Gervase and Cecilia shall have a day (given them). And John takes nothing by that assize, and so is in mercy for false claim.

(M. 2.) Peter de Brus and Walter de Lindesey and the heirs of William de Lancaster (III) notify the gift which the same William de Lancaster, their ancestor, made to Patrick de Man,*

* Patrick, of the Isle of Man, would seem to have been chaplain of the Chantry on the island of St. Mary Holme in Windermere, founded by Walter de Lindesey, for in the *inquisitio post mortem* of William de Coucy held in 1354 it is stated the chaplain of St. Mary Holme used to have and receive in right of their chantry ten marks by the year, issuing from a moiety of the Mill in Kirkby in Kendal, which appertained to the ancestors of William de Coucy.

clerk, of an annuity of 100 shillings to be received yearly all the life of the said Patrick, of the farm of the fulling mill of Kyrkeby Kendale until they have provided for him a richer benefice, as is contained more fully in a certain writing that the said Patrick has thereof.

(M. 4.) Peter de Bruys and Walter de Lindesey came before the Justices here and prayed that a certain perambulation might be made between their land in Hogayl (Hugill) and Foulbarg' and their lands in Applethwayt and Micheleselet (Mislett) in Kendehale, and Walter offered to the lord king 40 shillings for having the perambulation between the lands aforesaid and it was received. And the sheriff is commanded to cause the aforesaid perambulation to be made and to make it known etc. in fifteen days from the day of Holy Trinity at Lancaster. Afterwards on that day the Sheriff sent that perambulation which was made with the consent of the parties, by Patrick son of Thomas, Robert de Yannwyz, Gilbert de Lancaster, Henry de Scanel, Alan son of Dolphin, Lambert of Saunton, William de Wedeacre, William de Wyndesoure, Adam Gernet, Henry de Prenderlaze, Jordan de Creyk and Thomas de Forswyz, between the lands of the same Peter in Hogayl and Fayrhayt (Fairbank, Fatherbank, Fauerbank in the township of Strickland Ketel) and the lands of the same Walter in Appelthwayt and Mikeleswyk (Mislett in the parish of Windermere). Who say that there are boundaries between the lands aforesaid beginning at Bredestrete as far as the burial place for dead men, and from that burial place as far as Whystonēr next Wodewardehowe. And from thence as far as to Banerhowe in Thwaytlenkyld, and from thence as far as the south door of the barn of Adam de Porta. And from thence in a straight line to Hoggehalebek. And from thence in a straight line between Hethementer and the house of William de Porta and so as far as the fountain of Gilbert de Lancaster, and so next the fountain which is called Fokebrig' by the breadth of two perches towards the south, and so as far as the houses built upon the arable land formerly belonging to Adam de Hothwayt. And from those boundaries as far as the land of Thomas de Howes which William Belle holds beyond the hedges of the aforesaid land towards Wynander mere and so between a certain rock (*rupem*) and le hakdale, and thus in a straight line as far as the middle of le Thursmyre. And the sheriff is commanded to cause them to keep the boundaries aforesaid.*

* The death of William de Lancaster III., the last Baron of the undivided Barony of Kendal, in 1246, caused the division of the Barony into what were

(M. 3 dors.) The Assize came to take cognizance if Henry de Ormsheued, uncle of Robert son of Eudes de Ormesheued, was seised in his demesne as of fee of one messuage with appurtenances in Kyrkeby in Kendel' on the day when etc. And if etc. Which messuage William de la Quisine holds. Who came and said that the aforesaid Henry did not die seised in his demesne etc. of the said messuage because, he said, the same Henry long before his death enfeoffed thereof a certain Eva daughter of Ketel and put her in full seisin thereof who afterwards enfeoffed the said William de la Quisine of the same messuage. And concerning this he put himself upon the Assize. The Jury say that the aforesaid Henry, of whose death etc., died seised of the aforesaid messuage in his demesne as of fee and after the term etc. And that the aforesaid Robert son of Eudes is his nearer heir. And therefore it is resolved that aforesaid Robert shall receive his seisin of the same messuage. And William de la Quisyne is in mercy.

Pleas of the Crown for the County of Westmorland before R. de Thurkelbi and his Associates, itinerant justices, at Appelby on Monday next after the Ascension of Our Lord in the 40th year of the reign of Henry III. (A.D. 1256.)

The body of the County came by twelve Jurors.

(M. 10.) Unknown malefactors broke into the house of Geoffry de Melkentorpe and Richolda his wife, cut their throats and carried away their goods found in the house. It is not known who they are. And the vill of Melkenthorpe did not make suit, therefore it is in mercy. Alice, daughter of Adam first found Richolda. She (Alice) is not suspected. Afterwards Warin de Melkenthorpe, Adusa Frikes, and Agnes la Braceresse (Breweress) were taken for the same burglary and imprisoned in the Castle of Appelby, from which prison the said Warin escaped in the

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known afterwards as the Richmond and Marquis Fees. The boundary made as above is the division arranged between William's nephews and co-heirs, Walter de Lindesay and Peter de Brus, the former the owner of Windermere and its neighbourhood, the latter of Kendal and its castle. This boundary is co-terminous with the present boundary between the parish of Windermere (including the townships of Applethwaite and Undermillbeck) and the townships of Kentmere, Hugill and Strickland Ketel, and is also the present Parliamentary boundary between North and South Westmorland on the west side. It is marked on all maps, but it has not been possible to identify many of the places mentioned in the above division. "Bredestrete" one is tempted to identify with the old Roman road, now known as High Street, but see these *Transactions*, N.S. x., 436-8, 455. The "burial place for dead men" might be the spot marked on the large scale Ordnance Map as an Ancient British Settlement, above Hugill or Ings, and on the line of this boundary. But there was an ancient grave-yard at the old chapel of St. Anne, Grassgarth (Whellan, 863).

time of Ralph de Notingham, then sheriff. The chattels of the said Warin are worth 23s. The aforesaid Adusa was hanged for the same burglary before the justices assigned for the gaol delivery. Her chattels were worth 5s. And Agnes la Braceresse was delivered in the presence of the said justices. And the vills of Hakethorpe, Glyburne and Stirkelaund did not come fully to the inquiry. Therefore they are in mercy.

(M. 10.) Thomas de Leuenes (Levens) appealed John de Niandeserghe before Roger de Thurkelby and his Associates, because the said John had given him many mortal wounds with a sword in his head, and had stolen from him 28d. and a certain seal worth 10d. It was witnessed that the said Thomas had prayed for the King's peace with him, before then, before the justices of the Bench. And after the peace had been given him he committed this felony. So Thomas was commanded to continue his appeal against him until he was outlawed or returned to the King's peace, which he did. And now both Thomas and John came, and Thomas did not wish to continue his appeal against him. Therefore they are both in custody. Afterwards Thomas came and made his fine for himself and his pledges. And John came and could not deny that he had given him horrible wounds. Therefore he is sent to gaol. And he paid a fine of 60 marks by his pledges. [Gilbert son of Orm and Richard de Maleseregh.]

(M. 10.) The same (Thomas de Leuenes) appealed before the same justices, Adam son of Patrick concerning the violence of the aforesaid felony, who came before the said justices and prayed judgment if he ought to answer concerning the violence until after he had committed the deed. Therefore he withdrew on bail and now he has not come.

(M. 10 dors.) Thomas son of Ralph de Kelbrok placed himself in the church of Kyrkeby and acknowledged himself to be a thief and renounced the realm for ever in the presence of the Coroner. He has no chattels and the vill of Kyrkeby Lonnesdale did not take him. Therefore it is in mercy. And the vill of Hottone Ruff' did not come to the inquiry. Therefore it is in mercy. And the vill of Bruan is also in mercy because it did not make suit after the malefactors who broke into the house of Odardus son of Walter.

(M. 10 dors.) Adam son of Roger Knot was drowned in the water of Kenet (Kent) at Sirkelaund. His sister first found him and she is not suspected, nor any one else. And the vill of Kirkeby in Kendale did not come to the presentment. Therefore it is in mercy.

(M. 10 dors.) Agnes daughter of Adam de Cleyf' appealed in the County Edelma daughter of Richard de Blaterne because she gave her a deadly potion to drink. And Agnes did not come. Therefore let her be taken and her pledges are in mercy; namely Camel son of William de Kirkesantan and another pledge who has been hanged. And Edelma came and the jurors say that she is in no wise guilty. Therefore she is acquitted.

(M. 10 dors.) William de Kirksantan in placing his nets in the water of Wattinwat' fell from a certain boat into the same and was drowned. Richolda his wife first found him and is not suspected nor is any other person. Judgment misfortune. The price of the boat is 12d. for which the sheriff answers. And the twelve jurors concealed the price of the boat and nets. Therefore they are in mercy.

(M. 10 dors.) John, son of William de Mosse, Thomas the forester of Kendale, and Geoffrey son of William Brere broke into the house of Alexander de Scalchiweit in Scalegil and carried away his goods. And John was afterwards caught and beheaded. He had no chattels. And Thomas and Geoffrey fled and were suspected. Therefore they are outlawed. Their chattels are not known because they are strangers (*extranei*). And the vill of Salegeyl did not make suit. Therefore it is in mercy.

(M. 10 dors.) Hugh le Muner (Miller) of Kyrkeby in Lonnesdale was found killed in the fields of Kyrkeby in Lonnesdale and Hoton. Roger son of Thomas first found him and is not suspected. It is not known who killed him. And the vills of Hoton, Castreton, Berburne and Kyrkeby in Lonnesdale did not come fully to the inquiry.

And the vill of Knoksalcok is in mercy because it did not make suit after those malefactors who broke into the house of Agnes daughter of William.

(M. 11.) Robert son of Robert de Kyrkeby in Lonnesdale was kicked in the stomach by a certain horse, so that he immediately died from it. Matilda his mother first found him, and is not suspected. The value of the horse is 16s. for which the sheriff answers. The same sheriff answers for a certain horse by which Benne son of Alexander was killed and drowned in the water of Kenet, 3s.

(M. 11 dors.) Unknown malefactors broke into the house of Joan de Wyndesouer in Heuersham and carried away the goods found in the same house. And John de Hesleslack, Ely son of William de Tunetal (Tunstall), Robert de Marisco of

Lancashire, Richard de Hulmo in Bethum and William son of Alby de Suggeswyk (Sedgwick) are accused of that burglary. Therefore they are outlawed. The chattels of William son of Alby 4s. for which the sheriff answers. The same has land. The chattels of Richard de Hulmo 10s. for which the sheriff answers and the others have no chattels. Afterwards it is witnessed that the land aforesaid was the marriage portion of his wife, and that it was let to farm a long while before that burglary was committed. Therefore there is nothing.

(M. 11.) From William de Steynton, sheriff, of the chattels of Robert Toppiñg, hanged at Carlisle for breaking into the house of Joan de Wyndesouer 15s.

(M. 12.) Sigerith daughter of William appealed in the County Adam son of Simon of Burton because on Saturday in the vigil of the Holy Trinity in the 34th year (A.D. 1250) about the midday hour, he, evilly and against the King's peace, took her and struck (*calcavit*) her with his hands and feet and made her all bleeding, and with violence committed a criminal assault upon her. And Adam came and denied the felony and said that she had not raised the hue at once when it ought to have been done. When she first appealed him she said this was committed on Friday about the ninth hour and now she says about the hour of midday. Afterwards Sigerith withdrew herself from her appeal, therefore she is in custody and her pledges are in mercy, namely William de Lund her father and another pledge who is dead. The jurors say that Adam is guilty, so they are both in custody. And Adam made fine for himself and his pledges and for the said Sigerith, whom he married, of half a mark because they are poor, by the pledge of the aforesaid William de Lund.

(M. 12.) Richard, son of the parson* of Betham, killed Adam son of Emma in the vill of Betham and fled to the church of Betham and acknowledged there his deed and renounced the realm for ever before the coroner. And the vills of Ferlsam, Holm and Farleton buried him without any inquiry into the deed, and the vill of Betham did not take the said Richard, so they are all in mercy. Afterwards it is witnessed that Ralph son of Emma of Flakesby and Robert son of the aforesaid Adam took the said Richard to the house of the deceased Adam and there detained him for one night, until William Dauncer, chaplain

* The celibacy of the clergy was not rigidly enforced by the Church of Rome during the thirteenth century. There are many mentions of "son of the parson" recorded in rolls and documents of that period; often, strange to say, they appear as malefactors.

of the same, who is dead, stole the said Richard from their hands and took him to the aforesaid church. And because the hue was raised and the vill was congregated there and permitted him to go to that church, therefore there is judgment upon the aforesaid vill for the escape and the aforesaid Ralph and Robert for holding him.

(M. 12.) William son of Cospatrick appealed Daude de Biginges because he feloniously and against the King's peace knocked him down and broke his shin bone (*tybiam suam*). And Daude came and denied the felony, and put himself upon the country for good or for ill. And the Jurors say that they wrestled and the said Daude threw him down and broke his shin bone. Therefore he is in custody for trespass. He afterwards came and made fine of 10s. by pledge of John de Bigging.

(M. 12.) William Maukael appealed John de Fetheling' because he feloniously struck him with an arrow in the left shoulder. He also appealed Geoffrey Gadehend for violence and the sending out (*emissione*) of the same felony. And Geoffrey came and William did not wish to proceed against him. Therefore he is in custody and his pledges are in mercy, namely Thomas son of William de Appelby and another pledge who is dead. The Jurors acquit Geoffrey. John came and denied the felony and put himself upon the country for good or for ill. The jurors say that the said John did not make any wound nor commit any felony. Therefore he is acquitted.

(M. 12.) John de Kyrkeby in Kendale killed Simon son of John in the town of Kyrkeby and placed himself in the church of Kyrkeby in Kendale and acknowledged his deed there, and renounced the realm for ever before the Coroner. His chattels are worth 2s. 3d. for which the sheriff answers. And the town of Kyrkeby in Kendale did not take him. And the vill of Heselington did not come fully to the inquiry. Therefore it is in mercy.

(M. 13.) The township of Appelby came by twelve Jurors.

William le Lockesmyth broke into a certain shop (*seldam*) in Appelby and carried away the goods found in the same and fled to the church of Appelby and acknowledged the theft there and renounced the realm for ever before the Coroner. His chattels are worth 4s. for which the township answers.

(M. 10 dors.) William Scot of Nateby, riding a certain mare over the bridge of Girger, fell from the bridge into the water of the same and was drowned. Gilbert his son first found him and is not suspected nor any other person. Judgment, mis-

fortune. The price of the mare is 3s. for which the sheriff answers.

(M. 10 dors.) Nicholas son of Gilbert de Cresseby appealed in the County Adam son of William, Robert his brother and John son of Juliana concerning the death of Elyas the chaplain. So that by the suit of the same Nicholas they are outlawed in the county. The chattels of the aforesaid Robert are worth 13s. 6½d., for which the sheriff answers. And the others have no chattels. And afterwards it is proved that the aforesaid Adam and John had chattels worth 20s. for which the sheriff answers. And because the aforesaid Elyas was killed in the vill of Bampton and the same vill did not take them therefore it is in mercy. And the vills of Hepp (Shap), Thirneby (Thrimby) and Nippe (? Newby) did not come fully to the enquiry except four men.

(M. 10 dors.) Emma daughter of William de Cliburñ appealed in the County Alan de Dunethweyt for the death of Adam her husband killed in her arms. So that by her suit he is outlawed in the county. His chattels are not known because he is a stranger from the County of Cumberland. And because the Jurors are informed that the aforesaid Adam was killed in the vill of Cliburn and the same vill did not take him, therefore it is in mercy. And it is proved that John de Melfel, Reginald Coppenese, Robert Buman of Gylle Camban, John Hale, Adam son of Kerny de Baroñ (Barony) of Craistock and Hugh son of Robert le Forester in Engelwud of Cumberland, and Thomas de Joneby and Alan de Joneby of Yorkshire were all present when the aforesaid Adam was killed; they did not come nor were they attached. And the sheriffs of Cumberland and York are commanded to take them and to have their bodies at Lancaster in the Octave of the Holy Trinity. Afterwards Henry de Redman came and made fine for the aforesaid John de Bobeye (?), Thomas de Johanneby, Alan de Joneby and Robert Bueman of Gillekameban for that trespass, by two marks, by the pledge of Bertinus de Joneby. And because the aforesaid Thomas dwells in Yorkshire and the others dwell in Cumberland the sheriffs of York and Cumberland are commanded that they should not be taken on that account. Afterwards came Alan de Orreton (Orton) and made fine for John de Melfel by half a mark for that trespass. And therefore the sheriff of Cumberland is commanded not to take him on the occasion of that trespass.

(M. 11.) Hugh Farheyge of Warthecop was found killed on a certain moor called Lanegil by unknown malefactors. The

first finder came and is not suspected. It is not known who killed him. And the vills of Warthecop and Sandeford did not come to the enquiry. Therefore they are in mercy.

(M. 11.) John de Crakenthorp fell from a certain horse into the water of Edene near to Crakenthorp and was drowned in the same. Alice his sister first found him and is not suspected nor any other person. Judgment misfortune. The price of the horse and harness is 20s. for which the sheriff answers. And Adam de Paccon and Hugh de Beauchamp (*de bello campo*) valued falsely the aforesaid deodand [an animal forfeited for having caused a person's death]. Therefore they are in mercy.

(M. 11.) Adam son of Guy (Wydonis) de Luppton and Adam son of Matilda de Westmoreland fought each other, so that the aforesaid Adam son of Guy struck the aforesaid Adam son of Matilda with a certain pole on the head, so that immediately afterwards he died from it. And he instantly fled and is suspected. Therefore let him be put in exigent and outlawed. The chattels of Adam are worth 6d. for which the sheriff answers. And the vill of Lupton did not take him, therefore it is in mercy. And the vills of Strichilaund, Heuersham and Leuenes did not come fully to the enquiry. Therefore they are in mercy.

(M. 11.) Wine sold against the Assize. They say that William de Hof, John de Berewys, William le Surreis, Peter the Clerk, Martin Coyman, Robert de Denet, and Hugh Procatur sold wine against the Assize. Therefore they are in mercy.

(M. 11 dors.) Concerning the escape of thieves, they say that William de Huntedon and a certain Habertass a foreign (*extraneus*) malefactor were imprisoned in the prison of Appelby for theft, and from that prison they escaped. Therefore judgment for the escape upon the Prior of Carlisle then sheriff. And the Jurors say that they escaped at the same time when Emma de Kendal and others escaped.

(M. 12.) The Jurors present that William Grenchend of Warethecope (Warcop) wishing to unyoke four oxen that drew his plough was struck by the ploughshare of the same plough in the thigh, so that afterwards he died from it. No one is suspected of it. Judgment, misfortune. The price of the four oxen that were yoked in the plough and of the plough 2 marks for which the sheriff answers. And John de Barton and Adam de Hoghump valued falsely the aforesaid oxen. Therefore they are in mercy.

(M. 12 dors.) Agnes who was the wife of Adam son of Benedict was found killed between Helebeck and Burg (Brough). Robert de Helebeck, the first finder, came and is not suspected. And

the Jurors say that Adam, husband of the aforesaid, killed her as they came from the tavern of Burg and fled and is suspected. Therefore let him be put in exigent and outlawed. His chattels are worth 18s. for which the sheriff answers. And the vills of Helebeck, Burg and Mussegraue buried her without any inquiry being made. Therefore they are in mercy.

(M. 12 dors.) The Jurors present that Elyas Hamon of Slegil and Alexander son of James of the same place were playing together with a ball in the vill of Newby when the aforesaid Elyas, a boy of eleven years of age, wishing to strike the ball struck the aforesaid Alexander, a certain other boy, nine years of age, with his staff on the head by mischance, and against the will (*invito*) of the said Elyas. So that immediately afterwards Alexander died from it. And Elyas fled. And because he is under age and struck Alexander unknowingly (*nesciente*) and unintentionally (*invito*) therefore there is no outlawry (*ideo nil de utlagaria*) and it is reserved by the Court for consideration if he may return.

(M. 12 dors.) Emma who was the wife of Adam de Crestweyt (Crossthwaite) appealed in the County Simon the doctor (*Medicum*) of Kermel (Cartmel) concerning the death of her husband the aforesaid Adam. And Simon is outlawed in the County by the suit of Emma. The chattels of Simon are worth 4s. for which the sheriff answers. And it is witnessed that Adam was killed in the vill of Crosthwayt. And the vill of Crosthwayt did not take Simon. Therefore it is in mercy.

The following are typical specimens of pardons :—

1256. *Pardon* at the instance of Margaret Queen of Scotland (daughter of Henry III) of William de Kirkeby of the County of Westmorland of the abjuration of the realm for the death of a man killed at Appleby wherewith he is charged.

1280. *Pardon* to Richard le Escot, one of the foresters of Englewood for the death of William son of Elias of Grenerigge * on testimony before the King that he killed him for trespass of venison there and refusing to be arrested.

1296. *Pardon* for services in the Scotch war of John le Englys for the death of Richard Hamelyn of Kendale.

Pardon, for services in the wars, of John Kyng of Helton for robberies in Westmorland.

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* A noted poacher ; see these *Transactions*, N.S. vii., pp. 11, 15.

Pardon to William son of Simon de Rithe, co. York, for the death of Hugh Wodman of Westmorland by reason of his service in Flanders.

Pardon to Richard le Taillour for acquiring in fee from Margaret de Ros (owner of Kendal Castle) a moiety of a messuage in Kirkeby in Kendale held in chief of the King and entering therein without license. With restitution of the same by fine of ½ mark.

1258. *Pardon* to William de Braundesby for the death of Henry son of Hawise, a boy of the age of 7 years, as it is testified by Roger de Thurkelby that Peter de Percy on delivering York gaol in the last year found by inquisition made before him that the said William de Braundesby carried a log upon his back, and when he threw it down, in twisting, it fell without his knowledge upon Henry standing behind him and killed him.

An example of the right of Sanctuary:—It was claimed, before the justices in eyre in 1292, by the Prior of Wetheral at the instance of the Abbot of St. Mary of York, that "the Abbot of St. Mary's York claimeth this liberty and custom that all felons coming to his liberty of Wederhal, for felony committed out of his liberty aforesaid and coming to the church of the aforesaid liberty and tolling a bell and making oath before the bailiffs of the said liberty that hereafter they will behave themselves well and faithfully, shall remain in that liberty within the boundaries thereof at their pleasure."* After due inquiry the Abbot's claim was allowed, the jurors finding that his predecessors had used the custom which the Abbot claimed time out of mind and without interruption.

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* From Nicolson and Burn's *Westmorland and Cumberland*, vol. i., p. 521. See also Prescott's *Wetherhal*, app. C.

ART. VI.—*The Ings Registers.* By the REV. GEO. E. P. READE, M.A.

Read at Carlisle, June 27th, 1912.

IN these *Transactions*, old series xiii., p. 138, we find the following statements :—

Hugil or Ings C. I : bap. 1732—1775. II : bur. 1732—1775 : from which period baptisms and burials have been imperfectly kept on scraps of paper. III : Marriages 1775—1812.

W. (Whellan, p. 863) : 'Chapel rebuilt 1743. All the registers previous to 1813 have been lost.' If so they must have been lost between 1833 and 1860.

Commenting upon these statements I may remark, in the first instance, that that of Whellan is absolutely erroneous,—the others fall very far short of the whole truth, and some of them are inaccurate.

Materials exist, as I shall shew presently, for piecing together and supplying defects in the Ings registers sufficient to render them almost complete downward from a date not very many years subsequent to the time when the "Chapel of the Ings" was first licensed for the performance of the Occasional Offices of the Church.

The earliest extant document is a pamphlet of foolscap sheets sewn together bearing the following prefatory note :—

Hugil Oct. 7, 1749. A true and perfect Register of all the Marriages and Christenings within this Chapelry since the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and thirty two transcribed out of the old Chapel Book by Thomas Scales Assistant Curate to the Rev. Mr. Knipe Curate of Staveley and Ings the date above.

This pamphlet, containing copies of entries from an

older book, no longer in existence, from 1732 to 1749, is continued after the latter date, the record of Baptisms reaching onward until 1775 and that of Marriages until 1755. In the last-named year a bound book for the registration of Marriages only was provided, and this continued in use until 1811, the entries being made entirely in MS. Probably no marriage took place in the year following. In 1813 the parchment-bound registers ordered by Parliament were provided, and are complete from that time onward. The white bound Marriage Register was, of course, superseded by the modern duplicates bound in green in 1837.

As regards the Baptismal Registers, the statement in the *Transactions* is quite correct, that from 1775 to 1812 they, as well as the Burial Registers, were "kept imperfectly on loose scraps of paper." It has, however, been found possible to piece them together and to supply most of the deficiencies from another source. Among the loose slips of paper were found the two following documents :—

(A) Christenings at the Chapels Anno Domini 1781 at Hugill
Octr. 28 Jonathan son of John and Ann Thompson of Height.
The above is a true Copy of the Register of the Parish Church of Kendal in the County of Westmorland examined this twentieth day of January 1801 by me

Joseph Garnett, Parish Clerk.

(B) Christenings at the Chapels Anno Domini 1783.
Hugill
Septr. 14 Bryan son of Bryan and Grace Jopson of Hagend.
The above is a true copy of the Register of the Parish Church of Kendal in Westmorland examined the tenth day of July 1804 by me Joseph Garnett Parish Clerk.

The discovery of these two Certificates seemed to afford the assumption that returns must have been made of the performance of the Occasional Offices to the Parish Church of Kendal from the Chapelries, and

that the Mother Church must have been at that time regarded as the authority properly authorised to grant Certificates. Here, too, we might guess at one reason why the entries at Ings came only to be preserved on loose scraps of paper:—the real and more important registers were entered and preserved elsewhere. As the incumbent had apparently no power to grant Certificates he became careless as regards his own registers whilst making his annual returns to Kendal.

An examination of the Kendal Parish Church Registers has sufficed to clear this matter up. From about the year 1698, or possibly somewhat earlier, annual returns from all or nearly all the country Chapelries were made regularly of all Baptisms, Marriages and Burials. They are legibly entered and with every appearance of completeness. It has thus been found possible to fill up all gaps and to get a complete copy of the entries of nearly all Baptisms from 1732 to 1812. The Ings Marriage Register coincides completely with the Kendal one.

We next come to the Burial Register. On a loose slip of paper occurs this memorandum:—"Hugil Chapel consecrated as a Burial place in the year 1789." This is confirmed by the first entry of a Burial from Hugil in the Kendal Register: "1791. George Dobson of Grassgarth *being the primary interment.*" Query was there ever a Burial Ground here before? A tradition lingers that there was formerly a Chapel of S. Anne at Grassgarth, traces of which are supposed to remain in the walls of the house of S. Anne's farm, and that there was a Burial Ground attached to this. Old people even assert that they can remember to have seen traces of grave mounds. If this chapel lasted to post-Reformation times, what became of the Registers? I have been unable so far to find any vestige or indication of them. As in the case of the Baptisms, the entries of Burials on the paper slips shew some omissions when compared

with the lists sent to Kendal. The Parchment-bound Register begun in 1813 is fully entered up, and is in fact still in use.

The question arises—At what date was license first granted to the Chapel of Hugil or Ings for the performance of the rites of Baptism and Marriage? For the approximate solution of this question I am greatly indebted to Mr. Martindale of Staveley for some extracts which he obtained some time ago from the archives of the Diocesan Registry at Chester, and also from the Parish Registers of some neighbouring Churches. From the former source it appears that in 1588 the inhabitants of Staveley sent up a long petition to the Bishop of Chester praying him to grant to the minister of Staveley the right to baptize, marry and bury. The names of the prime movers of the getting up of this petition were Thomas Parrington and Stephen Bateman, and amongst the signatories were several inhabitants of Hugill. The bishop, in the first instance, appears to have acceded to the prayer of the petitioners and to have accorded the right. He, however, withdrew this almost immediately afterwards on the complaint of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge, who had been instigated to take action by the Wardens of Kendal Parish Church. Parrington and Bateman thereupon entered an action in the Archbishop of York's Court against the Bishop of Chester for withdrawing his decree. They lost their case. The right, however, was restored in 1651 by the action of the Commissioners of the Long Parliament.

The question remains—Was Ings, previous to this last-named date, in the same position as Staveley with regard to the absence of right to baptize, marry or bury in its own Chapel? The evidence of neighbouring Church registers compels an answer to this question in the affirmative. A family named Benson, of some importance in the county, owned and resided at Hugill

Hall during a considerable portion of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. From the ancient registers of Kendal, Troutbeck and Bowness Mr. Martindale has extracted something like twenty entries of baptisms and burials of members of this family alone ranging from 1573 to 1631. But stranger still—in the Troutbeck Registers are found the following :—

1617. Feb. 25, Samuel Stephenson sone of Clement Stephenson Minister at the Ings Chapel was baptised.

and in the Windermere Registers :—

1619. March 5, John filius Mr. Clement Stephenson de Inges baptised.

1620. Nov. 4, John ye sonne of Mr. Clement Stephenson Curatt at Crook baptised.

1621. Ap. 28, Nathaniel ye son of Mr. Clement Stephenson of Crook baptised.

Thus it appears that Mr. Stephenson, Minister at Ings and afterwards at Crook, was not allowed even to baptize his own children in the country chapel which he served, but was compelled to take them to some neighbouring church duly licensed for the administration of baptism.

The main facts elicited so far would seem to be as follows :—

(1) Sometime between 1651 and the close of that century the "Chapel of the Ings" first became licensed for the performance of the Baptismal Office, perhaps also of the Marriage Service.

(2) From 1732 to the present time the Marriage Register is complete.

(3) The Baptismal Register is continuous from 1732 to 1775. From the latter date until 1813 it is imperfect. Since 1813 it has been kept in the ordinary way.

(4) No Burials took place in the Churchyard until

1791. From that date up to 1813 the register is somewhat imperfect: but is probably capable of complete reconstruction by collation with the entries sent to Kendal Parish Church. Since 1813 it is complete.

(5) There does not appear to be any evidence that any of the registers have been lost in recent times: though the loose slips relating to Baptisms between 1777 and 1792 and also for 1811 and 1812 are missing. When these were lost it is impossible to guess.

HEBREW MEDAL FOUND AT WORKINGTON (¾).

TO FACE P. 85.

Phot. by R.G.C.

ART. VII.—*A Hebrew Medal found at Workington.* By the REV. JAMES WILSON, M.A., LITT.D.

Exhibited at Carlisle, June 27th, 1912.

THIS medal, found by a workman last year at Mossbay, near Workington, and lent to me by the Rev. M. H. Banister, is now exhibited with the view of having it recorded in the Society's *Transactions.* It is due to the researches of Mr. G. F. Hill that its identification need cause us little difficulty. In his article on "Medallic Portraits of Christ," in *The Reliquary,* N.S. X., 260-9, he has traced the production of the medal to its source. It was issued not many years ago by an enterprising firm of stove manufacturers whose name and place of business may be for obvious reasons omitted. According to the advertisement:—

This medal is a facsimile of a remarkable coin made in the first century of the Christian era and contains a unique portrait of the Saviour. The original was discovered in the Campo dei Fiori (the Jew Market) in Rome.

In the sensational title of the printed sheet, the figure on the obverse is represented as "the first-century portrait of Christ, one of the earliest likenesses of our Lord." As the advertisement was widely circulated, the forgery was soon exposed in many lands.

The obvious intention of the figure on the obverse is to represent a portrait of Christ. The *aleph* on one side is taken as the first letter of *Adonai,* Lord, and the letters on the other as the initial letters of *Jeshua,* Jesus. The legend on the reverse for half its length is the plain Hebrew for "Christ the King has come in peace," but the latter part has given rise to speculation owing to the

clumsiness of the attempt to write Hebrew. In genuine medals of this nature, the normal inscription around the portrait is *Christus Rex venit in pace : Deus homo factus est*—Christ the King has come in peace ; God was made man. It is thought that the second part was blundered by the designer as *veor meadam hassai chai*, which may be interpreted, so far as it is Hebrew, *and light was made of man.* The scholars, consulted by Mr. Hill, agree that the designer " knew little Hebrew."

In order to emphasize the character of the production, the opinions of the authorities at the British Museum, to whom I sent the medal, may be added. Mr. Allan, of the Department of Coins and Medals, says :—

> It is as you suggest of quite modern manufacture. Such medals first appear in the sixteenth century, but the great majority are of modern manufacture. I think this specimen is one of a large number issued as an advertisement by the . . . Co. some years ago, purporting to be a copy of a coin of the first century.

Dr. Barnett, of the Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts, takes the same view :—

> As you rightly observe, the medal is a modern imitation. I myself remember seeing similar things being sold in the streets of London as facsimiles of a supposed ancient medal, which however was not ancient at all, but was merely a medieval concoction.

Though the thing has no local interest, it has been thought advisable to make a note of it, as it was found within the jurisdiction of our Society.

ART. VIII.—*The Parish of Warwick.* By T. H. B. GRAHAM.

Communicated at Carlisle, June 27th, 1912.

AT the top of Warwick bank stands a church dedicated to St. Leonard. Its story extends back to the very roots of local history. In 1131-2 Henry I. confirmed to the abbot and monks of St. Mary of York the cell (*cella*) of St. Constantine, together with the manor of Wetheral, and the chapel (*capella*) of Warthwic, as they held them when Randulph, earl of Chester, had Carlisle (Prescott, *Wetherhal*, p. 14). It was Ranulf Meschin himself who had made the original gift to those Benedictine monks (*Wetherhal*, p. 39). Again Athelwold, consecrated bishop of Carlisle in 1133, confirmed to the abbot of York and to the monks of Wetheral *ecclesia de Wederhale cum capella de Warthewic*, to hold to their own proper use (*Wetherhal*, p. 44), and the same bishop further confirmed to the monks of St. Mary of York the churches which they were known to possess in his diocese, including the cell of Wetheral together with the parish (*parochia*) of Warthwic (*Wetherhal*, p. 45). It is curious to notice the various interests of sovereign, territorial lord, bishop, abbey and priory, and it is manifest that, ever since the days of the first bishop, the chapel of Warwick was not a mere chapel of ease to Wetheral church, although subordinate to it, but a chapel with a separate and distinct parish attached to it.

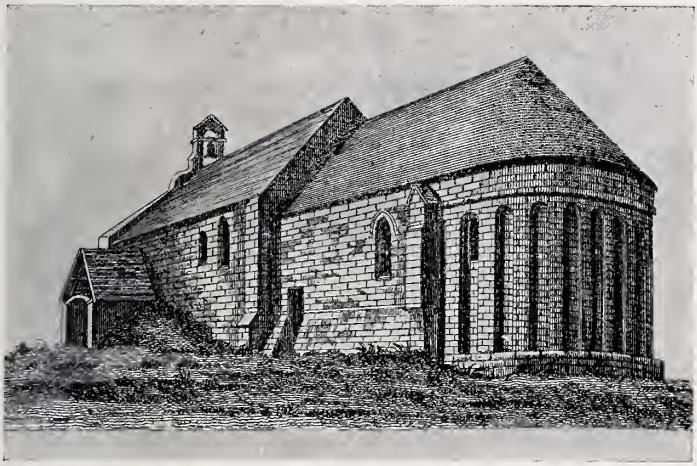
The first chaplain of Warwick whose name has been preserved was William, who attested documents from 1200 to 1231 (*Wetherhal*, pp. 114, 129). He was followed before 1239 by Hugh (*Wetherhal*, p. 291) and Gilbert, *capellanus de Warthwic*, is co-witness with John, *capellanus*

de Wederhal, to a charter dated Pentecost 1241 (*Wetherhal*, p. 279). The *Valor ecclesiasticus*, made in pursuance of the statute which gave the first fruits and tenths to the King, still spoke in 1534-5 of the church of Wetheral with the chapel of Warwick (*Wetherhal*, p. 456).

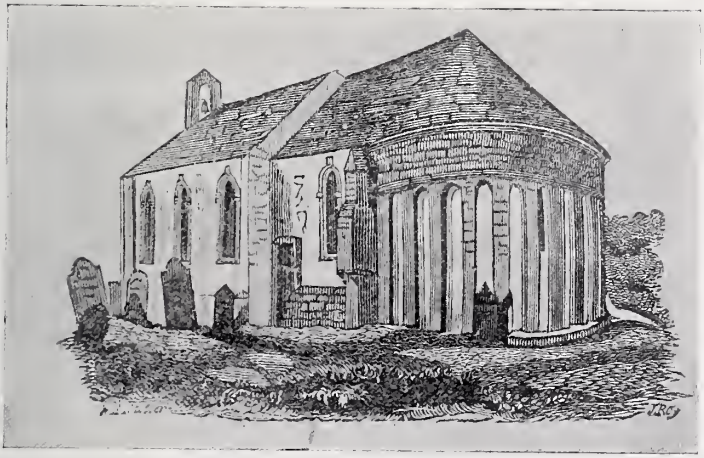
In 1541 Henry VIII. gave to the newly constituted dean and chapter of Carlisle "the late priory or cell of Wetheral, which belonged to the late priory of St. Mary York," reserving to himself the rectory of Wetheral and the tithes thereof (*Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. xvi., p. 418), and in 1547 further gave them the reversion of the rectory of Wetheral and Warwick, with the chapels of St. Anthony and St. Severin annexed thereto, all which said rectory he had by patent in 1539 granted to Ralph Harteley, late prior of Wetheral, for life (*Ibid.*, vol. xxi., part ii., p. 417).

The rectory and tithes of the "parish churches" of Wetheral and Warwick were leased by the dean and chapter to Lord William Howard of Naworth, for the rent of £14 13 4, and he covenanted to pay £6 a year to the curate of each parish (*Wetherhal*, p. 463). His Household Books contain several entries relating to the transaction.

In October, 1618, he paid to Mr. Alleson, curate of Warthwick, for one quarter's stipend, 30s. (p. 98), and in November of the same year to the prebends of Carlisle one half year's rent for the tithes of Wetheral and Warwick, £7 6s. 8d. (p. 99). In August, 1629, he obtained from the dean and prebends a new lease of the tithes, and paid them £100 for the privilege (p. 260). Lord William Howard, as lessee of the rectory, was liable for the repair of the quire, and in October, 1629, paid 6s. 9d. for 13½ feet of glass for the quire at Warwick church (p. 264), and, in March, 1633, 2s. 6d. for mending the church at Warwick, and 12s. 8d. for repairing the quire (p. 320). His carefully kept accounts reveal the names



WARWICK CHURCH, from Pennant, 1772.



WARWICK CHURCH, from Jefferson's *Carlisle*, 1838.

TO FACE P. 88.

WARWICK CHURCH, 1868.

WARWICK CHURCH: 1912.

TO FACE P. 89.

of other curates of the parish. There is a payment of 30s. to James Pawston, vicar of Warwick, for one quarter due January 18th, 1629 (p. 270); and the like sum to John Sewell, clerk, for his quarter wages, for serving the cure of Warwick, due April 18th, 1634 (p. 339). The last named must be the same as "Sir" John Sewell, vicar of Wetheral, at Christmas, 1629 (p. 269). The lease of the rectory and tithes became vested in Lord William's son, Sir Francis Howard, knight, of Corby Castle, and was sequestrated in 1650 for the benefit of the Commonwealth (*Wetherhal*, p. 463).

The connection between Wetheral and Warwick is maintained, for the dean and chapter, as appropriator and patron, continues to present an incumbent to the joint livings.

When our Society visited Warwick church in 1898, the late Mr. C. J. Ferguson called attention to some striking features in its construction—the nave, choir, and eastern apse, already complete in the twelfth century, the great breadth of the nave, 21½ feet, unusual in a country church of primitive type, and the "magnificent" western arch of old Norman workmanship, in addition to the usual chancel arch—and he suggested that it was originally intended to erect an edifice with tower, aisles, and flanking arcades. That scheme was never carried out, and later on, in order to render the church defensible, the walls of the nave were rebuilt and surmounted by a parapet, the exterior plinth was "battered" or sloped, like that of a pele, and a few narrow windows inserted (these *Transactions*, O.S. xv., p. 327).

Whatever may have been the original intention, the building is always described in early records as a chapel (*capella*). The buttress on the south side of the chancel bears the *rebus* of William Thornton, sometime prior of Wetheral, and afterwards, in 1530, abbot of St. Mary's, York, namely a thorn tree growing upon a tun.

Bishop Nicolson wrote in 1703 :—

The quire here, as in many other places, is shamefully abused by the children that are taught in it. Their present master is Robert Allanson, a poor cripple removed hither from Rocliff, who has no settled salary, only 12d. per quarter and his diet, and would be thankful for the *commendam* of the clerk's place, which, he says, would bring him an addition of about six shillings *per annum*. Here are no rails, nor anything like a decent altar-piece. There seem to have been a great many windows in the east end, which is built in a semi-circle, but they are all now walled up; and over the arch on the inside there's a vacant space, wherein pigeons breed and thence dung the whole quire under them. The churchwardens ought to have directions to see this filled up to the roof. The body of the church is ill seated. There has been formerly a square tower at the west end, but, at present, they have only a pitiful lodgement for a single little bell. The register here begins at the entrance of Mr. Thomas Nicols, curate, A.D. 1684. Here are no monuments of any kind, either in the church or churchyard (*Miscellany Accounts*, p. 51).

The existing chancel arch was erected some forty years ago, in place of a much lower one, and I have heard the suggestion made that the Norman arch has been removed from the chancel and rebuilt in its position at the west end. But it has certainly not been removed during any recent restoration of the church, because Pennant, who visited Warwick during his tour of 1772, says—" the church once extended above one and twenty feet further west; there being still at that end a good *rounded arch*, now filled up." The building has undergone much alteration since he wrote, and his excellent illustration of the exterior shows the " few narrow windows " by which it was then lighted.

The parish of Warwick comprises two townships, namely Warwick, which gave a surname to its local lords the de Warwicks, and Aglionby, which is said to have derived its name from a certain Walter Agullon, who lived in Henry I.'s time, and whose descendants possessed land there and were styled de Aglionby. It

WESTERN ARCH, 1912.

Phot. by Mr. John Graham.

BUTTRESS WITH PRIOR THORNTON'S REBUS.

WARWICK CHURCH.

TO FACE P. 90.

is evident from what follows that Warwick and Aglionby were parcel of the barony of Melmerby, held by the descendants of Odard the sheriff, original grantee from Henry I. of the barony of Wigton (*Testa de Nevill*, V.H. i., p. 421).

A lineal descendant of the said Odard the sheriff, namely Odard de Wigton, died in 1238 (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, vol. i., p. 263), and some twenty years later, the inquisition relating to his lands was put in evidence at some legal proceedings. The document certified that Odard de Wigton held of the King *in capite* the manor of Melmerby, with its pertinents, namely Stainton, Blackhale, and *Warwick*, by cornage, and Walter, his son, was heir (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, i., p. 415). Again in 1278-9 the said Walter de Wigton held the manors of Melmerby, Blackhale, and Stainton, with the barony of Melmerby of the King by cornage (*Ibid.*, ii., p. 37). And lastly another lineal descendant of Odard the sheriff, namely John de Wigton, died in 1315 seised of Melmerby, Blackhale, and Stainton, all held of the King (*Cal. Inq. p.m.*, 8 Edw. II., p. 297), and a further inquisition made in the following year, under a writ of *certiorari de feodis*, shows that John de Wigton's land comprised :—

Warthwyk and Aglounbi : the hamlets, except 100^s land held by John de Warthwyk by homage and $13^s\ 4^d$ cornage, and 100^s land held by Sir Thomas de Richmount by homage and $1\frac{1}{2}^d$ cornage (*Ibid.*, p. 299).

The dower of the said John de Wigton's widow included the cornage rent of three half-pence from tenements in Warwick and Aglionby of the yearly value of 100s., which Thomas de Richmond held (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 9 Edw. II., p. 399).

It is an example of the complexity of the feudal system, and of the mode in which the great baronies stretched out their tentacles and derived support from distant manors.

The descendants of Odard the sheriff, lords for the time being of the baronies of Wigton and Melmerby, were therefore overlords of all the land comprised in Warwick parish, and I will proceed to describe the petty manor held under them by the families of de Warthwic and de Richmond. The accompanying pedigrees of de Warthwic and de Aglionby, and the references to the *Registrum de Wetherhal*, will assist a perusal of that difficult document. Without the aid of Chancellor Prescott's careful notes and conjectural dates I could not have attempted to steer a course through the earlier stages of the history.

The Manor of Warwick.

The first under lord of Warwick was Odard, styled "de Corkeby" when he witnessed a charter of the probable date 1130-31 (*Wetherhal*, p. 143), and so he was actually at Corby soon after the period when Ranulf Meschin relinquished his "honour of Carlisle" to Henry I. But before that period, 1120-22, Ranulf had given a valuable sluice and pool for salmon fishery to Wetheral Priory, in the presence of Wescubrich* and Odard (*Wetherhal*, p. 6), and it is not unreasonable to assume that the latter witness was Odard de Corkeby, and that he was Wescubrich's under tenant at that vill. I will give reasons for the assumption. In 1157-8 Henry II. gave to Hubert de Vallibus the barony of Gilsland, and threw in as a makeweight (*de incremento*) the overlordship of Corby, with its fishery and other appurtenances, formerly held by Wescubrich, son of William Steffan (*Wetherhal*, p. 418). Corby thus became appurtenant to the barony of Gilsland. Wescubrich had long since died (*Wetherhal*, p. 25), and so doubtless had his supposed fellow-witness Odard de Corkeby, but it appears from the Register of

* Skitby in Kirklinton is called in 1272 West Cudbryhteby (these *Transactions*, N.S. xii., p. 62), and may indicate the home of this or another Wescubrich.

Pedigree of de Warthwic.

ODARD DE CORKEBY = ANNA
witness 1130-31. | gave land at Warwick to Wetheral Priory.

- OSBERT, son of Udard, d. circ. 1167 without issue.
- WILLIAM, son of Odard = OSANNA. gave advowson of Warwick to Wetheral Priory. d. circ. 1195.

- JOHN DE WARTHWIC = ALIVA. son of William, son of Odard. 1195-1201.
- ROBERT = ALICIA DE LASCELS. son of William, son of Udard, not long after 1195. *Alias* ROBERT, son of William de Corkeby, 1223-9. Knight, 1225-30.

- WILLIAM, son of John de Warthwic, styled William de Warthwic Knight, 1259-60.
- ISABELLA = (1) ROALD DE RICHMOND.

ROBERT DE WARTHWIC = IDONEA.
sub-escheator 1275, alive in 1293. | 1269.

WILLIAM, son of Robert de Warthwic, verderer of Inglewood forest 1310.

- JOHN DE WARTHWYK, verderer of Inglewood forest 1311, in possession of Warwick 1316, coroner until 1323, died without issue.
- EDMUND DE WARTHWYK.
  - JOHN DE WARTHWYK, Knight, died seised of Warwick manor manor 1387-88.

GEORGE WARREWYK *alias* WARTHEWYK, commissioner 1421-2, d. 1439.

JOHN DE WARTHEWYK, lord of Warwick in 1455.

(*Note.*—The heirs of "John Warwik Knight" are referred to in 1485-6).

(Herald's line)

LANCELOT WARWIKE, d. 1537.

RICHARD WARWIKE, d. 1545.

CHRISTOPHER WARWIKE, d. 1596 = FRANCES, dau. of....Salkeld of Corby.

RICHARD WARWICK = FRANCES, dau. of....Salkeld of Whitehall.
taken prisoner 1601

THOMAS WARWICK = a dau. of Gawen Brathwaite of Ambleside.
mayor of Carlisle, d. 1624-5.

THOMAS WARWICK = FRANCES, dau. of John Skelton of Armathwaite Castle.
d. 1654.

THOMAS WARWICK = FRANCES, dau. of John Dalston of Acorn Bank.
b. 1643, d. 1689.

JOHN WARWICK = MARY, dau. of Francis Howard of Corby.
d. 1720.

FRANCIS WARWICK = JANE, dau. of Thomas Howard of Corby.
died without issue 1772, and the male line became extinct.

Wetheral that the latter's heirs remained in undisturbed possession of Corby and held it until 1164 of Hubert de Vallibus, and afterwards of Robert de Vallibus, his son (*Wetherhal*, p. 83). That however does not explain how Odard de Corkeby became under lord also of Warwick, a manor belonging in early times to the over lord of Wigton and Melmerby.

Odard de Corkeby's wife, Anne, gave a bovate of land in Warthwic to Wetheral Priory (*Wetherhal*, p. 80), and Chancellor Prescott suggests that it was through her that he derived his title to Warwick.

But who was Odard de Corkeby? The pedigree of the de Warthwic family, submitted to Sir William Dugdale at the herald's Visitation in 1665 (Foster, *Cumberland and Westmorland Pedigrees*, p. 139) identifies Odard de Corkeby with Odard, lord of the barony of Wigton, and much confusion has thereby resulted. It is incredible that the great over lord of Wigton would style himself of Corby, a petty manor which was never comprised in his barony. Again Odard de Corkeby is not identical with Odard son of Hildred de Carlisle to whom Henry I. gave Gamblesby and Glassonby (*Testa de Nevill* V.H. i., p. 422), and whose descendants are noted in *Wetherhal*, p. 147.

That he was an individual entirely distinct from those other two Odards is almost conclusively proved by the said charter of 1130-31 (*Wetherhal*, p. 143). It is a remarkable document referring to two groups of witnesses. In the first group there occur side by side the names of Odard the sheriff and Odard son of Hildred, and in the second group those of Odard de Corkeby and Walter Agullun, who, I suggest, were lords of the petty manors of Warwick and Aglionby.

Odard de Corkeby was not one of the King's tenants *in capite*, but held Corby probably of Wescubrich, and Warwick probably of Odard the sheriff, lord of Wigton and Melmerby.

He was succeeded by his elder son Osbert, son of Udard (*Wetherhal*, p. 77), who was certainly in possession of Corby, for he speaks of "my vill of Chorkeby," and, as nothing more is heard of him, it is believed that he died about the year 1167 (*Wetherhal*, p. 78) without issue, and that all his lands devolved upon his younger brother William, son of Odard.

The said William claimed, as against Wetheral Priory, the right of presentation to Warwick, for there is a very interesting charter (*Wetherhal*, p. 90) by which "with the assent of John my heir and Osanna my wife and of my other children, and for the health of the soul of Odard my father" he quitclaimed to the monks of Wetheral for ever whatever right he had claimed of presenting *capellanum de Warthewic*. And it was thereby stipulated that the said chaplain should constantly reside in the same vill, for the purpose of celebrating the divine offices of God and St. Leonard.

William, son of Odard, probably died about the year 1195 (*Wetherhal*, 130 note).

In tracing the subsequent title to the land it is important to remark that William had by his wife Osanna two sons—John de Warthwic, son of William, son of Odard (*Wetherhal*, p. 129, date 1195-1201), and Robert, son of William, son of Udard (*Wetherhal*, p. 82) *alias* Robert, son of William de Corkeby (*Wetherhal*, p. 118, date 1223-29), who succeeded to Corby. The latter is styled Knight in 1225-30 (*Wetherhal*, p. 103), and had by his wife Alicia de Lascels (*Wetherhal*, p. 118) a daughter Isabella, whose first husband was Roald de Richmond (*Wetherhal*, p. 108). Corby thus passed to the de Richmond family and drops out of my story.

The manorial rights of Warwick appear to have been divided between the said brothers, John and Robert, because in 1230-1 *two* lords of Warwick are parties to a composition with the abbot and convent of St. Mary

of York and the monks of Wetheral, concerning the rights of common, enjoyed by the men of Warwick, in the marsh, which bounded that township, namely Robert, son of William, and William, son of John (his nephew), *domini de Warthwic* (*Wetherhal*, p. 122). Such division of the lordship between the families of de Warthwic and de Richmond is clearly alluded to in 1316 (*supra*), but I am here concerned only with the de Warthwic share of the manor.

The said John de Warthwic gave a messuage "in my land of Warthwic" to Wetheral Priory, with the assent of "my wife Aliva" (*Wetherhal*, p. 129, date 1195-1201), and was succeeded by William, son of John de Warthwic, witness to one of the Wetheral charters (*Wetherhal*, p. 115). The same William de Warthwic attested a charter as early as 1223-9 (*Wetherhal*, p. 185), and was one of the jury at the inquisition held on the death of Peter de Tiliol in 31 Hen. III., 1246 (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, i., p. 313). He is styled William de Warthwic, Knight, in 1259-60 (*Wetherhal*, p. 136), and, about that date, acted as co-witness with his son Robert (*Wetherhal*, p. 152).

The said Robert de Warthwic was juror at an inquisition *ad quod damnum* held in 1268 (*Cal. Doc. Scot.*, i., p. 492), and he and Idonea his wife are mentioned in the *Rotuli Finium* of the following year, 53 Hen. III. (p. 495). His name occurs as a witness to a charter with the definite date June 29th, 1271 (*Wetherhal*, p. 307). He was sub-escheator for Cumberland in 1275 (*Cal. Doc. Scot.* ii., p. 12). In August, 1277, he had been lately appointed justice to deliver Carlisle gaol (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 5 Edw. I., p. 400), and in 1278-9 Robert de Wardewyk was sent to Alston by the justices itinerant to hear and determine crown pleas of the mine (*Cal. Doc. Scot.* ii., pp. 35, 40). Robert de Warthwic attested many of the Wetheral charters between 1259 and 1292, and in March, 1293, was imprisoned at Carlisle for alleged

trespasses committed while he was sub-escheator in Cumberland (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 21 Edw. I., p. 278).

The next in succession was William, son of Robert de Warthwic, who was witness in company with his father to a charter certainly later than 1257 (*Wetherhal*, p. 141). He was probably the William de Warthewyk who, with his wife Marjory, arraigned an assize of novel disseisin against the abbot of Shap in 1286 (*Cal. Doc. Scot.* ii., p. 83). William de Warthwic and his father were witnesses to charters about the year 1290 (*Wetherhal*, pp. 201-2). In May, 1310, the sheriff of Cumberland was directed to cause a new verderer for Inglewood forest to be elected, in place of William de Warthwyk incapacitated by infirmity (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 3 Edw. II., p. 212).

William had a brother Thomas (these *Transactions*, N.S. vii., p. 22) and a son John.

There is mention in 1298 of Agnes, late wife of John de Warrewyk (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 26 Edw. I., p. 217), and in 1306-7 John de Warthewyk was despatched by Edward I. with a body of archers to join an expedition in search of Robert de Brus (*Cal. Doc. Scot.* ii., p. 511). He was verderer of Inglewood forest in 1311 (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 4 Edw. II., p. 305), but was removed from that post for insufficiency in 1316 (*Ibid.*, 9 Edw. II., p. 263). He was then in possession of Warthwyk, and his superior lord, John de Wigton, had recently died (*supra*). On May 23rd, 1323, the election of a new coroner for Cumberland was ordered in place of John de Warewyk incapacitated by illness and age (*Ibid.*, 16 Edw. II., p. 654). In the same year the manor of Warthewyk was settled on John de Warthewyk senior with remainder to John, son of Edmund (these *Transactions*, N.S. vii., p. 234).

The pedigree explains that John de Warthwic the elder died without issue and was succeeded by his nephew (*nepos*) John, son of Edmund de Warthwic. John de

Warthwic, *junior*, was witness to a charter dated August 5th, 1342 (*Wetherhal*, p. 384). In 1366 Edward III. appointed John de Warthewyk to conduct an inquiry concerning Wetheral Priory (*Wetherhal*, p. 466).

In 1387-8 John de Warthwyk, knight, died seised of Warthwyk manor, Cumberland (*Cal. inq. p.m.*, 11 Rich. II., p. 97). From the inclusion of his name in the calendar, it would seem that he had meanwhile become a tenant *in capite*. It should be mentioned that in 1418-19 Warthewike manor in Westmoreland (*sic*) is described as belonging to Rad'us baron de Graystok (*Cal. inq. p.m.*, 6 Hen. V., p. 37). The record possibly marks some phase in the devolution of the overlordship of the Cumberland manor, which was then, or shortly afterwards, in possession of George Warrewyk.

In 1421-2 a commission was issued to George Warrewyk, esquire, in the county of Cumberland (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 9 Hen. V., part ii., p. 424), and he was commissioner of array for the county in 1430 (*Ibid.*, 8 Hen. VI., part ii., p. 71). His name appears in the list of Cumberland gentry dated 1434 (*Ibid.*, 12 Hen. VI., part ii., p. 383). He evidently incurred forfeiture of his land, for, in November, 1439, certain persons had without licence acquired in fee from George Warthewyk esquire, and entered the manor of Warthewyk, Cumberland, held of the King in chief (*Ibid.*, 18 Hen. VI., part i., p. 342). It is expressly stated that at his death, earlier in the same year, he held no land in Cumberland (*Cal. inq. p.m.*, 17 Hen. VI., p. 186).

But on Jan. 26th, 1455, the boundaries of Moorhouse, within the lordship of Warthewyk, are set out as they existed in the time of John de Warthewyk, then lord of Warthewyk (*Wetherhal*, p. 375), and in 1485-6 the *heirs* of John Warwik, knight, were freeholders of a tenement called Barnardhow, in the manor of Hayton, belonging to Humphrey Lord Dacre (*Cal. inq. p.m.*, 1 Hen. VII., p. 69).

John Warwik, knight, was therefore dead, and it is remarkable that the same document loosely describes a whole group of freehold tenants as heirs of ancestors therein named. The accession of Henry VII. marks the cessation of the Wars of the Roses. For at least a generation past the tenure of land had been precarious.

At this point Sir William Dugdale drew across the pedigree a black line, to indicate that, at his Visitation, sufficient evidence was not adduced to show that those who followed were descendants of John de Warthewyk. There is no other reason for doubting that they were such.

The heir of John de Warthewyk, or of John Warwik, Knight, is assumed in the family pedigree to have been Lancelot Warwike, who died in 1537, and whose son and heir Richard then obtained livery of the land (*Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. xii., part ii., p. 354), but the latter's name is omitted from the list of Cumberland gentry dated two years later (*Ibid.*, vol. xiv., part i., p. 320).

The said Richard was succeeded by his son and heir Christopher Warwike, who obtained livery of his land in 1545 (*Ibid.*, vol. xx., part ii., p. 448).

Christopher Warwike married Frances, daughter of Salkeld of Corby, and the *inquisitio post mortem* of his land is dated 38 Eliz., 1595-6.

He was followed by his son Richard Warwick, who had been in command of the muster of Eskdale Ward in 1580 (Bain's *Border Papers* i., p. 37), and attended a Court Leet of the City of Carlisle in 1597 (*Municipal Records*, p. 272).

And then an incident occurred near Warwick which points to a deadly feud. On January 9th, 1599, Mr. Oswald Dykes, vicar of Wensley, Yorks., wrote to Sir Robert Cotton :—

My sudden departure from you was for this cause. I was one with Mr. Aglionby, that had taken up the poole (contest) between widow Kirkbride and my cousin Warwick, that had slain her husband. I feared some rough dealing by the Kirkbrides at that time, which made me haste away with speed, since which time Mr. Aglionby and his brother are both slain in that quarrel. He was run through with a spear one evening, as he returned home from Corby, and died on Christmas day (*Cotton MSS. Julius* ciii., f. 162).

The victim was Mr. Edward Aglionby, "an honest gentleman esquire, often mayor of Carlisle, and ever ready to serve the queen." It was alleged that John and Thomas, sons of Ambrose Carleton, and a Graham, committed the murder on the Sunday before Christmas. John Carleton was arrested, but the others fled into Scotland (Bain's *Border Papers* ii., p. 634).

The writer of the letter refers to his cousin Warwick. Of the six co-heiresses of Sir Richard Salkeld of Corby, who died in 1503, Christiana married William Dykes of Cumberland, and Anne was "wife to Warwyke," whose Christian name is not stated (Flower's *Yorks. Pedigrees*, p. 271).

The laird of Warwick was taken prisoner by the Armstrongs "at the slaughter and hership (plundering) of Little and Great Corby, Warwick-brigend, and Warwick town," in 1601, and "paid great ransom to his overthrow for ever" (Bain's *Border Papers* ii., p. 761).

Richard Warwick had by his first wife, Frances, daughter of Salkeld of Whitehall, a son Thomas, mayor of Carlisle. The said Thomas, according to the Warwick pedigree, married a daughter of Gawen Brathwaite of Ambleside, and, according to the Brathwaite pedigree, Dorothy, sister of Gawen. Again Helen, wife of Thomas Warwick, was a recusant residing in Cumberland (*S.P. Dom. Eliz.*, 1597, p. 354). It is difficult to reconcile these statements. Thomas Warwick was one of the county gentlemen who in 1600 presented a petition

concerning the Grahams to the Privy Council (Bain's *B.P.* ii., p. 690). In 1601 the curate of Wetheral gave information to the bishop regarding the movements of an alleged seminary priest, and incidentally referred to Thomas Warwick's house at Hereby near Carlisle (*S.P. Dom. Eliz.*, 1601, p. 538). In April, 1611, Lord William Howard paid rent for Warwick Mills to Mr. Thomas Warwick (*H.B.*, p. 57). whose *inquisitio post mortem* is dated 22 James I., 1624-5. He had probably been in possession since the "overthrow" of his father, who is stated by the pedigree to have married a second time and to have been still alive about 1634.

Thomas Warwick left a son, Thomas the second, probably the "laird of Warwick" referred to in Lord William Howard's accounts of 1628 (*H. B.*, p. 247). He married Frances, daughter of John Skelton of Armathwaite Castle, and died in 1654. His son, Thomas the third, was 22 years of age in 1665, the date of the Visitation, when his armorial bearings are described as Azure, three lions rampant argent. Crest, a dexter arm embowed in armour, the hand gauntletted holding a battle axe. On May 13th, 1681, Thomas Warwick of Warwick Hall, esquire, was admitted a brother of the Glovers' Guild of Carlisle (*Municipal Records*, p. 233). He married Frances, daughter of John Dalston of Acorn Bank, and was succeeded by his son John, who married Mary, daughter of Francis Howard of Corby. Their son, Francis Warwick, married Jane, daughter of Thomas Howard of Corby. Like his father-in-law, he was a sympathiser with the House of Stuart. The young Pretender's Household Book contains the note—"When the Prince was at Brampton, he went one day to Squire Warwick's house and dined there." That must have been on November 13th, 1745, when seven "regiments" of Highlanders mustered at Warwick Bridge and marched up to Warwick Moor *en route* for Carlisle. The squire

was not at home that day, but Mrs. Warwick welcomed the Prince in the "oak parlour" of the old hall (Mounsey, *Carlisle in* 1745, p. 45).

Francis Warwick died without issue in 1772, and the male line of the Warwicks of Warwick Hall became extinct. Some twenty years later the manor of Warwick was described as containing 36 customary tenements, which paid £12 2s. customary rent, and there were also free rents amounting to 3s. 1d. The tenants performed annual "boon days," but they were not heavy. The tenements passed by deed, surrender, and admittance, or by deed licensed by the lord. They paid, upon the death of the lord or change of tenant, a fine certain of 20 pence, namely 20 times the annual lord's rent, and were subject to a heriot upon the death of each tenant (Hutchinson, *Cumberland* i., 153).

From time immemorial there has been a bridge over the Eden at Warwick. Certain land is described as situate *in holmo juxta pontem de Warthwic* (*Wetherhal*, p. 131, date 1259-60), and in 1362 a testator made a bequest of 20s. to the fabric of Eden bridge at Warwick (*Testamenta Karleolensia*, p. 70). The edition of Camden's *Britannia*, published in 1607, states (p. 640) that at Warwick a very strong bridge of stone was constructed at the expense of the Salkelds and Richmonds. In Lord William Howard's day it is described as a fair arched bridge (*H. B.*, p. 488). The existing structure was built during the years 1833-5, as an inscription upon its parapet records, but a few yards above it, the solid foundations of the earlier bridge, which it superseded, are visible beneath the water. That earlier bridge of four spans (instead of three as at present) is shown in the view contained in Hutchinson's history, as well as the Hall, Church, and adjacent dwellings, but the view is wanting in perspective. Hutchinson states, in his list of plates *ad finem*, that Mr. Warwick's house had been erected since the first volume was printed

(1794), and Jefferson adds that Mr. Thomas Parker, who died in 1828, greatly improved the estate and beautified the mansion. Progress westward from the bridge was formerly barred by the commanding hill called "Warwick bank" (now pierced by a deep cutting), and the highway turned abruptly northward and then swept in a curve through a "slack" in the bank to its junction with the village street that leads to Moorhouse. When standing on the bridge, the attention of the passer by is attracted to a great water-worn rock in the bed of the river below. The late Mr. F. H. M. Parker has referred (these *Transactions*, N.S., v., p. 41) to the local belief that the rock was, in very early times, the meeting-place of the great forests of Inglewood, Nichol, and Geltsdale, and that some of the magnificent trees in the grounds of Warwick Hall are relics of the primæval woodland. The same rock marks the spot where the boundary of Warwick parish leaves the mid-channel of the Eden and ascends the Sawbeck. The Sawbeck used to carry off the storm water from the above-mentioned marsh, which divided Warwick from Wetheral, but is now represented by the tiny sike trickling into the Eden immediately opposite the great rock. The parish boundary is described as following the Sawbeck up to a cross called "Wederhal Gyrthcrosse" (whose site Chancellor Prescott has identified) through Holme Mire, and the gutter formerly known as "Carsike," until it reached Scotby beck *alias* Pow Maughan beck (*Wetherhal*, p. 371), and then pursued the course of that stream to its junction with the "dead water," or old channel of the Eden in Warwick Holme (N. and B. ii., 326).

There was formerly a ford across the Eden just below Warwick bridge. "Warthewyk wath" is mentioned in the Register of Wetheral (*Wetherhal*, p. 375), and "the ford beneath Warwick bridge" in the Orders of the Watches, 1552 (*Leges Marchiarum*, p. 149). The village

on the opposite side of the Eden is called Warwick Bridge, but it is not in Warwick parish, and its old name was "the Brig-end in the town of Corby" (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 38 Edw. III., A.D. 1364, p. 38). It is grouped with Corby Minor in the Orders of the Watches. The heathery land, which intervenes between Moorhouse and the township of Aglionby, marks the former site of Warwick Moor.

The Manor of Aglionby.

The village lies on the north side of the main road to Carlisle, and its township contains only 559 acres. From what has been already stated, Aglionby appears to have been a manor carved out of, and held under, the lordship of Warwick, which in Edward II.'s reign embraced the vills of Warwick and Aglionby, and was enjoyed in shares of equal value by John de Warthwic and Sir Thomas de Richmond, as parcel of the seigniory of Sir John de Wigton, the King's tenant in chief. The de Warthwics and de Richmonds were therefore the immediate lords of its actual occupants the de Aglionbys. There is not any tradition of a manorial residence at the village in recent times, nor is Aglionby distinctly described as a separate manor in the old records, but it was such in fact. John Denton is the first to give a pedigree of the de Aglionbys (*Accompt*, p. 104), and it is generally consistent with the records. Nicolson and Burn follow him (vol. ii., p. 327), but insert a John Aglionby as father of the William who married a Blennerhasset. That insertion is, I think, an error, for there are several obvious errors in their pedigree. Hutchinson adds (vol. i., p. 195) that John Aglionby, who lived in Edward IV.'s reign, had a wife named Johanna. I particularly notice those points in view of what I shall presently say about a certain monument at Ainstable.

The fact that Walter Agullun is co-witness with Odard de Corkeby to the above-mentioned charter of 1130-31

Pedigree of de Aglionby.

WALTER AGULLUN,
witness : 1130-1.

WERRI DE AGYLLUNBY,
witness soon after 1195.

LAURENTIUS, filius Agyllun, witness soon after 1195.

ELIAS, son of Werricus,
witness about 1200, styled Elyas de Agillunebi, 1223-29.

LAURENTIUS AGLUNBY, gave land at Aglionby to Wetheral Priory, 1223-29.

ALAN, son of Eliseus de Aglunby,
witness, 1223-29.

JOHN DE AGELLUNEBI,
party 1230-31,
witness, 1223-1240.

SUANE DE AGULLUNEBY,
co-witness with John 1239.

WILLIAM DE AGULLUNBY,
witness about 1260.

EVERARD DE AGELUNBY,
1250.

ADAM DE AGILLUNEBI,
witness about 1271.

JOHN DE AGILLOUNBY,
pardoned 1329, juror 1341-2.

ADAM DE AGELONBY=JULIANA.
executor 1362.

THOMAS, son of Adam, executor 1362.

WILLIAM AGLYONBY=MARIA, dau. of Alan Blennerhasset.
of Tarraby, 1396-7.

THOMAS AGLIONBY=KATHERINE, dau. of .. Skelton of Armathwaite.
sworn 1434.

JOHN AGLIONBY=
said to have been living 14 Ed. IV., 1474-5.

THOMAS AGLIONBY=
of Carlisle, pardoned 1470.

(*Note.*—The heirs of a certain William Aglionby are referred to in 1485-6.)

EDWARD AGLIONBY=
represented Carlisle in Parliament 1529, governor of Carlisle Citadel 1542, Sheriff 1544-5.

(Here the Visitation pedigree commenced.)

JOHN AGLIONBY=a dau. of Richard Salkeld of Corby.
of Carlisle, commissioner 1566, ancestor of the Aglionbys of Nunnery.

EDWARD AGLIONBY=ELIZABETH, dau. of Cuthbert Musgrave of Crookdake.
represented Carlisle in Parliament 1592-3, d. Dec. 25th, 1599.

EDWARD,
an infant when John Denton wrote.

(*Wetherhal*, p. 143) raises the presumption that he was a person of local importance, and progenitor of the family which is later styled de Agyllunby. He is followed by Laurentius filius Agyllun, who, in company with Werri de Agyllunby, is witness to a charter of a date not long after 1195 (*Wetherhal*, p. 82). It is not likely that either of them were sons, though they may perhaps have been grandsons of the first-named Walter.

Elias, son of Werricus, is witness to a charter of about the year 1200 (*Wetherhal*, p. 114), and must be identical with Elyas de Agillunebi, witness to a charter of the date 1223-29 (*Wetherhal*, p. 133).

Alan, son of Eliseus de Aglunby, is co-witness with his father to a charter of the same date as the last (*Wetherhal*, p. 184). Alan was followed by his son William.

William de Agullunby witnessed a charter of about the year 1260 (*Wetherhal*, p. 160), and made a quitclaim which was attested by Robert de Warthwic and William his son (*Wetherhal*, p. 169), and thus the period when he lived is ascertained.

I will interrupt the narrative for a moment in order to note that there occur names of collaterals, some of whom had an interest in the land. For instance, there was Laurentius Aglunby, who in 1223-29 gave four acres of land in the territory of Aglionby to Wetheral Priory (*Wetherhal*, p. 184). Whether he was the same person as Laurentius *filius* Agyllun of 1195 is not absolutely certain, but he was contemporary with Eliseus and Alan, for they witnessed the gift. Again, there was John de Agellunebi, who in 1230-1 was party to a composition concerning the marsh dividing Warwick from Wetheral (*Wetherhal*, p. 128) and attested many of the Wetheral charters between 1223 and 1240. Again, there was Suane de Agulluneby, who about 1239 was co-witness with John to two charters (*Wetherhal*, pp. 135 and 163). And lastly there was Everard de Agelunby, mentioned in 1250 (*Cal. Doc. Scot.* i., p. 331).

Now I return to the main stem. Adam (son of William) witnessed a charter about the year 1271 (*Wetherhal*, p. 133), and was one of the jury at an inquisition held in May of 33 Edw. I., 1304-5 (these *Transactions*, N.S. v., p. 55). He had a son named John. On March 28th, 1329, pardon was granted to John de Agillounby, who aided the King in the late rebellion (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 3 Edw. III., p. 475), and the same John de Aglionby was juror at an *inquisitio post mortem* held in January, 1341-2 (*Cal. Doc. Scot.* iii., p. 250). He was succeeded by another Adam.

Adam de Agelonby and Thomas his son were appointed joint executors of the will of Thomas Barton, rector of Kirklinton, proved in 1362, which contains a bequest to Juliana, wife of Adam de Agillony, doubtless the executor (*Test. Karl.*, p. 54). In 1366 Adam de Aglounby, in company with John de Warthewyk, conducted the aforesaid inquiry concerning Wetheral Priory (*Wetherhal*, p. 466), so he was still connected with the locality. Next year the sheriff of Cumberland was ordered to deliver a writ to Adam de Aglionby (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 41 Edw. III., p. 403), who represented Carlisle in Parliament in 1360-1 and 1368 (*V. H.* ii., p. 325).

It is quite impossible that his said son Thomas could have been mayor of Carlisle at the date mentioned by John Denton, and the insertion here by Nicolson and Burn of John Aglionby, son of Thomas, is probably an error, for John Denton's original account gives his son's name as William. William married Maria, daughter of Alan Blennerhasset (in 1391, according to Hutchinson), and William Aglionby represented Carlisle in Parliament in 1385 and 1387-88 (*V. H.* ii., p. 325).

In 1396-7 William Aglyonby complained that certain malefactors had assaulted and threatened him at Stanwix, and "he durst not go to his house of Triby" (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 20 Rich. II., part iii., p. 159). The record is

interesting, because it bears out the assertion that the Aglionbys were anciently connected with Tarraby in Stanwix parish, and throws light on the obscure history of Drawdykes Castle.

William and Maria Aglionby had a son Thomas, who married Katherine, daughter of Skelton of Armathwaite, Nicolson and Burn say in 3 Henry V., 1415-16, and the date is material.

On May 1st, 1434, Thomas Aglionby was one of the Cumberland gentry who took the oath not to maintain peace breakers. So, too, was a certain William Aglionby perhaps a collateral (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 12 Hen. VI., part ii., p. 383).

Thomas and Katherine Aglionby had a son John; and I now come to an interesting problem.

At Ainstable church are two fine recumbent effigies, described and illustrated by the late Canon Bower (these *Transactions*, o.s. xv., p. 417). They are alleged to represent "John Aglionby and Katherine Denton his wife," and to have been removed to Ainstable by the Aglionby family from St. Cuthbert's, Carlisle, when that church was rebuilt in 1778. The effigy of the man lies upon the pavement at the north side of the altar, and upon its breast are emblazoned three martlets in chief. The heraldic colouring of that device, when *gules*, denotes Denton of Ainstable (Lyson's, p. lxxii.), but when *sable*, Aglionby. There are no incised lines to indicate the proper colouring, and, were no extrinsic evidence forthcoming, I should have said without hesitation that this effigy represented a Denton of Ainstable. On the south side of the altar lies a similar effigy of a woman, and *beneath* her, on the same block of stone, runs the inscription: *Orate pro anima Katarine Denton que obiit a ..ni MCCC ..XVIII.*

By an error D's are substituted for closed C's in Canon Bower's description, but the date is, as he said, 1428.

Now Bishop Nicolson, when describing St. Cuthbert's church in 1703, says (Miscellany Accounts, p. 101) that in the north aisle, over against the middle window in which were the Aglionbys' arms in glass, lay a man in armour with his wife by his side, and *over* her the inscription which I have just quoted.

Again the bishop says :—

On the west end of the tower (without) is a new coat of arms, clap'd under an old helmet and crest, thus subscribed, *Arma Johannis Aglionby Armiger.*

The same helmet, carved in red stone, and surmounted by a wreath and huge crest (a demi-eagle displayed) is now affixed to the north wall of the sanctuary of Ainstable church, while below it is the fragment of a white slab, almost hidden by a hot water pipe and inscribed, so far as I am able to decipher it, *Arma Johanis Agli.* Beside it is a smaller white stone bearing a shield with three martlets in chief, possibly the very coat of arms which was clap'd under the old helmet at Carlisle, though the bishop does record the existence in 1703 at Ainstable church of a coat of arms, three " black-birds " on a chief with two fesse or cross bars underneath in freestone, which seemed to be the same as those borne by Denton of Cardew (p. 111).

The Visitation record of 1665 does not assign any crest to Aglionby of Carlisle, but that family has assumed the demi-eagle displayed, " eagle " being a play upon the surname.

That the recumbent effigy represents an Aglionby has no doubt been suggested by the equivocal martlets upon its breast, and that it represents a John Aglionby has been further suggested by the inscription placed below the old helmet and crest. But if the dates which have been added by John Denton's commentators to his pedigree are correct (and I do not say that they are so),

the John Aglionby of the pedigree must have been a boy of about 12 years of age when his supposed wife Katherine Denton died. Nicolson and Burn assign the very late date, 14 Edw. IV., 1474-5, to the John Denton of the pedigree.

He had a son Thomas, probably the Thomas Aglionby of Carlisle, gentleman, who was pardoned for all offences committed by him before September 7th, 1470 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 10 Edw. IV., p. 214).

The same Thomas Aglionby is said to have been father of the distinguished Edward Aglionby presently mentioned, but, in the interval of time which separates them, there is room for an intervening generation.

And here I will note, by the way, that in 1485-6 freehold lands at "Torreby" were held by the *heirs* of a certain William Aglionby (*Cal. Inq. p.m.*, 1 Hen. VII., p. 69). The name however does not then occur in the main pedigree, though there was a William Aglionby living at Tarraby in 1397—Richard II.'s reign. Is it possible that, at this inquisition concerning the lands of Humphrey Lord Dacre, held at the close of the Wars of the Roses, the freehold tenants traced descent from ancestors living before those wars began? I am inclined to think so, because, on the very same occasion, the de Warthwics claimed descent from *John Warwik Knight*, and the only person so styled died in 1387—Richard II.'s reign. The names of the existing heirs are not stated, and there is consequently an unaccountable *hiatus* in both pedigrees at that particular period.

But to resume—Edward Aglionby, stated to be the son of Thomas, was a person of note in Henry VIII.'s reign. He represented the City of Carlisle in the Parliament of 1529 (*Letters and Papers of Henry VIII.*, vol. iv., part iii., p. 2691). In 1534 he was appointed constable of Penrith Castle (*Ibid.*, vol. vii., p. 560). In 1536 he, and a Thomas Aglionby, acted as grand captains of horse with the

army in Ireland (*Ibid.*, vol. xi., p. 373). In 1537 he was one of the officers for the West Marches with a fee of £10 (*Ibid.*, vol. xii., part ii., p. 107). In 1538 he was on the commission of the peace for the county (*Ibid.*, vol. xiii., part i., p. 245). The spelling of his surname was a stumbling block even to Cumbrians, for it takes such forms as Eglyamby and Agloby. In no instance, so far as I have observed, is he mentioned in connection with the *manor* of Aglionby, but, on the contrary, is called in 1540 " Edward Aglamby of Carlisle " (*Ibid.*, vol. xv., p. 14). In 1542 he was appointed governor and captain-general of the newly-built citadel of Carlisle (*Ibid.*, vol. xvii., p. 485). He is styled " Sir " Edward Eglyanby in the commission of the peace for the same year (*Ibid.*, p. 213), and in 1544-5 he was sheriff of Cumberland (*Ibid.*, vol. xx., part i., p. 259). Nicolson and Burn state (vol. ii., p. 327), but I do not know on what authority, that his arms were Barry of four, *sable* and *argent*, on a chief of the last 3 sheldrakes of the first.

I will observe parenthetically that the list of burgesses, representing the City of Carlisle during the ensuing period, contains the names of several Aglionbys, but their relationship to one another does not appear. For instance, there is Hugh in 1545, Edward in 1547, Edward *junior* in 1552-3, and John Aglionby in 1553 (V. H. ii., p. 325).

The last named John is alleged to have been the son of Edward the sheriff. He was commissioned to make inquiry concerning the ports of Cumberland, and made his report to the Privy Council in 1566 (*S.P. Dom. Add. Eliz.*, 1566, p. 6).

When, a century later, the Aglionbys of Carlisle submitted their pedigree to Sir William Dugdale, they neglected to trace their descent from Edward the sheriff. The herald allowed them as armorial bearings, *Argent*, 2 bars *sable*, in chief 3 martlets of the second, but added " no proofe made of these armes." There is nevertheless

a presumption that the John Aglionby of Carlisle, who stands at the head of the Visitation pedigree, and who married a daughter of Richard Salkeld of Corby, was identical with John son of the sheriff, because, when his lineal descendant, Christopher Aglionby, last male representative of this distinguished county family, died in 1785, he still continued to hold the *manor* of Aglionby (Hutchinson i., p. 153). It then consisted of 26 tenements, namely 17 customary, which paid an annual rent of £7 6 9, and were subject to arbitrary fines and heriots, and 9 freehold, which paid small free rents amounting to one shilling only (N. and B., vol. ii., p. 327).

As early as 1397 William Aglionby was resident, not at Aglionby, but at Tarraby in Stanwix parish, and that, or Carlisle, seems to have become the head-quarters of the family.

Little is known concerning the immediate predecessor and successor of Edward Aglionby the sheriff. At that interesting period the genealogy becomes somewhat vague, and it was not presented in such a form as to obtain the approval of the herald in 1665. The then head of the family submitted and certified a pedigree, which commences only with John Aglionby, who married a Salkeld of Corby (Foster, *Cumberland and Westmorland Pedigrees*, p. 1). There can however be no doubt as to the great antiquity of the family of Aglionby, and their long-continued connection with the local township of the same name.

ART. IX.—*The Fortified Church of St. John the Baptist, Newton Arlosh.* By JOHN F. CURWEN, F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A.

Read at the site, June 27th, 1912.

DURING the campaigns of 1300-6 against the Scots, Edward I. formed the town of Skinburness into a naval port to supply and strengthen his base at Carlisle.* So great, seemingly, was its value that the King, on the 12th day of February, in the 29th year of his reign (1301), granted to the Abbot and Convent of Holm Cultram, within whose island-holm the town was situated, the liberty to have a free borough there under the custody of some faithful man to be elected by the Abbot and his successors, so that the burghers and merchants, trading either by land or sea, should have all liberties and the free usages that belong to a free borough for ever. He also granted the privileges of a weekly Thursday market and an annual festival to be held on the vigil of the day of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist and the following 15 days.†

With such encouragement to the prosperity of the town, bishop John de Halton found it necessary to grant a charter, dated from Bridekirk on the 6th day of August, 1301, giving the Abbot leave to erect a church there for the spiritual welfare of the inhabitants.‡

However, nature determined otherwise. Within four years the town was inundated and swept away, together with the way leading to it, as the records say "by the

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* *Cal. Pat. Rolls,* 1292-1301, pp. 389, 488, 554, 585.

† Harleian MSS., 3891, fol. 21b.

‡ *Epis. Registers of Carlisle,* Halton, ed. by W. N. Thompson, part ii., p. 161.

terrible inroads of the sea and bad weather so that men could not reach it or live in it as they used to do."* The inhabitants then seem to have removed further inland to a hamlet within the territory of Arlosh and to have erected a new town there. At or just before this time bishop Halton granted another charter, dated from Linstock on the 11th day of April, 1304, to the Abbot of Holm for a new church to be built in this hamlet, as follows :—

John, Bishop of Carlisle to his beloved sons in Christ, the Abbot and Convent of St. Mary of Holm Cultram of the Cistercian Order in our Diocese of Carlisle, peace, grace and benediction. . . . Noticing that your lands possessions and localities beyond your boundaries at Holm are situated outside the limits of all parochial churches in our Diocese and are at a distance from the same; considering moreover their poverty-stricken condition as the result of the hostile invasions and depredations of the Scots . . . To the glory of God, to the increase of His worship and the safety of souls, for the reverence of your holy religion and for the quicker relieving of your notorious oppressions and losses; we, with the help of the Most High, after invoking the grace of the Holy Spirit and after due deliberation held thereupon with our priestly authority and with the consent of our 'Capitulus' of Carlisle, grant on behalf of ourselves and our successors and give special licence that you may in your land of Arlosk build one chapel or church afresh† for your parishioners and inhabitants that dwell and will dwell in your lands of Holm. And when this chapel or church is built, it is our will and decree that it shall have all parochial rights and by our authority we annex and appropriate all greater and lesser tithes and any additions that come from the aforesaid parishioners and we freely grant them by these presents to you and your Monastery of Holm and your successors. Furthermore

* For account of the destruction of Skinburness, see T. V. Holmes, Cumberland Scientific Association, *Transactions*, part vi., p. 121.

† Whellan (p. 237) mentions a tradition that a church was built here by S. Ninian out of gratitude to God on his safe return from Rome, where he was educated. If there is any substance of truth in this, Mr. W. G. Collingwood (*Early Sculptured Crosses*, p. 239) says that we must look upon this village as the oldest Christian site in our district, but that there is neither history nor pre-Norman fragment to support it.

. . . with thorough trust we exempt the aforesaid chapel or church as far as it concerns its ecclesiastical adornment, its covering and the enclosure of the cemetery, with the upkeep and repair of which we charge your conscience, lord Abbot, and that of your successors, from our visitation and jurisdiction and that of our successors, officials, archdeacons and other ministers and we do judicially decree that it be exempt for ever. And that the greater advantage of temporal good may increase for you and your successors from this appropriation we grant that the aforesaid chapel or church may be well and faithfully served by some convenient priest to be chosen by you but approved by us, or by our officials when it happens that we are outside our diocese. And we decree that this priest thus elected by you and presented by us . . . shall receive the cure of souls of your parishioners and your aforesaid inhabitants from us and shall administer the ecclesiastical sacraments as laid down in the canon. And to this priest for his labours and for his maintenance and for all burdens incumbent upon him you shall pay £4 sterling at two terms of the year, viz. after Easter and after the feast of St. Michael, and you shall assign him a suitable piece of ground for his house and curtilage after your own discretion. And the same priest shall faithfully give a full report of all such matters as concern our ordinary jurisdiction . . . to us in our courts to be held in the deaconry of Allerdale and shall receive with reverence and shall with diligence follow out our canonical injunctions and shall faithfully pay to us a sign of his submission under the title of Cathedral dues half a mark of silver per annum . . . and 40 pence to the archdeacon for procurations etc.*

It will be noted that there is in this charter no direct allusion to the encroachment of the sea at Skinburness, neither to the name of New-town, so that it may have been granted just prior to that great calamity; and this view is strengthened by the fact that for some time the hamlet within the territory of Arlosk was known by the name of Kirkeby Johan or the hamlet surrounding the newly-erected church dedicated to St. John the Baptist. Be this as it may, it is clear that when the hamlet

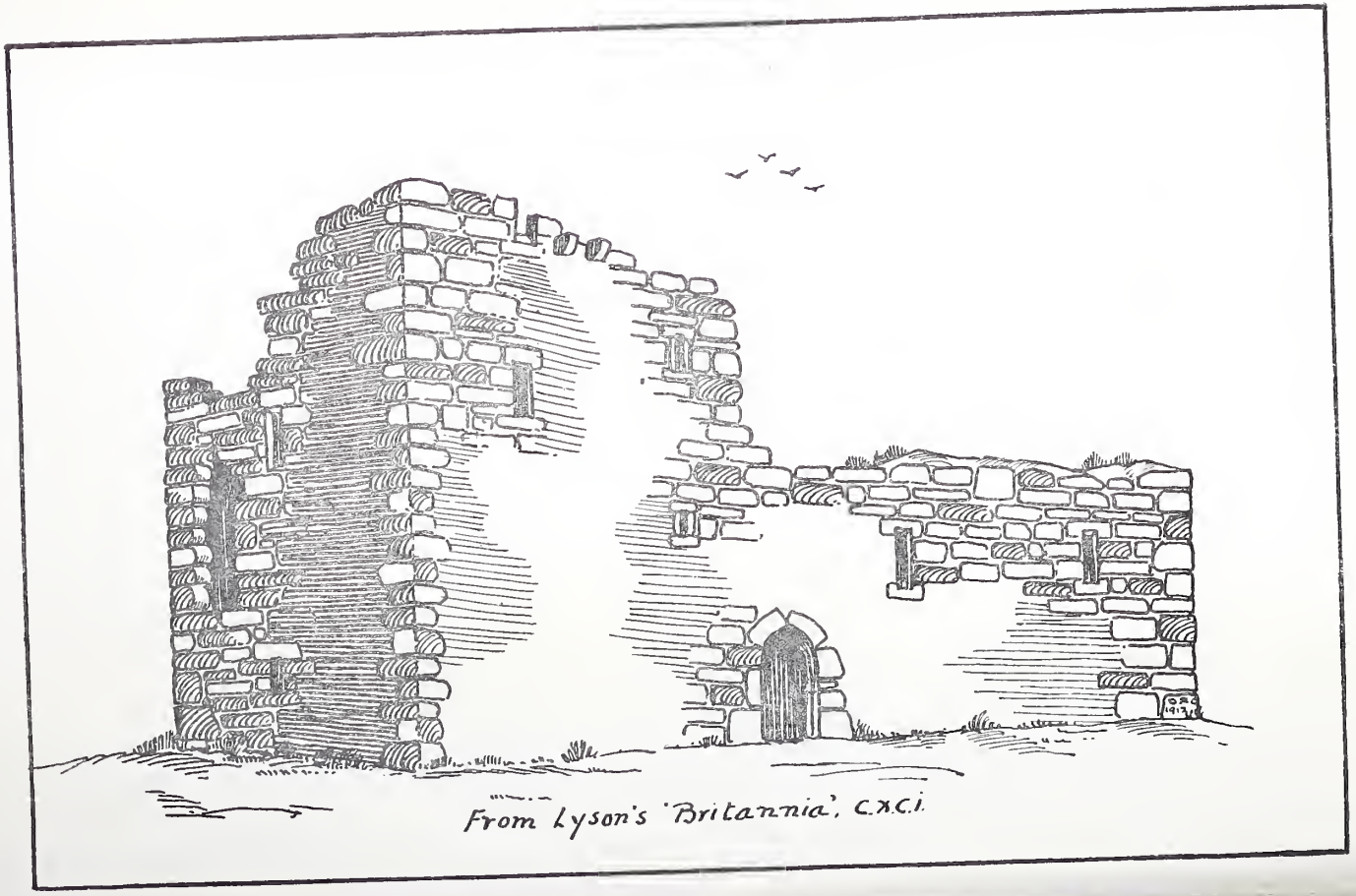
* Harleian MSS., 3911, ff. 7 and 7b; Monast. Angl., Caley's Edition, v., 595.

increased by the incoming of the Skinburness folk the name of Kirkeby Johan gradually gave place to the designation of Newtown-in-Arlosk.

And so time went on until the Abbot petitioned King Edward requesting that whereas he had paid a fine of 100 marks for a fair and market at Skinburness which had been carried away by the sea, the King would grant him leave to have the freedom of the borough with its weekly market and annual festival transferred to his town of Kirkeby Johan. To which petition the King responded by granting a fresh charter, dated from Westminster on the 28th day of March in the 33rd year of his reign (1305), stating that "whereas the Abbot and Convent have given us to understand etc., and have begged us that we should graciously allow the same liberties granted them aforesaid to be transferred to their village of Kirkeby Johan, which is within the boundaries of the aforesaid island, we hereby grant that the village of Kirkeby Johan should be a free borough etc. in lieu of the borough of Skinburness."*

Now the militant John de Halton knew what he was saying when he spoke about the poverty-stricken condition of Holm owing to the hostile invasions and depredations of the Scots. He was not only bishop of the diocese but governor of Carlisle castle, and three times over the Scots burned his palace at Rose in revenge because they could not conquer him in his castle. The Solway formed a convenient entrance for these invasions, and I have no doubt but that he himself advised the Abbot so to construct his new church as to render it strong enough to protect the women folk when the men were called out to the fray. And there are many of the low embattled church towers near the border which present evidences of having been inhabited for short

* Rot. Parl. i., 161 ; Harleian MSS., 3891, fol. 21b, 3 ; Riley, 245, 246.



From Lyson's 'Britannia', CXCI.

periods during seasons of great danger; indeed the chroniclers record instances when the Scots even forced these sacred edifices and committed the greatest of barbarities in them. The most notable examples are undoubtedly the churches of Great Salkeld, situated in a locality peculiarly harassed by the invaders, this church of Newton Arlosh, and Burgh-by-Sands, a few miles to the eastward on the Solway coast.

Unfortunately we can find little history concerning this church. The monks of Holm served it, and after the dissolution of that monastery the building fell rapidly to decay. Under date 1580 we read "The chapel of Newton Arlosh did decay; the door stood open, sheep lay in it. About fifteen years since the roof fell down and the lead was taken away by some of the tenants and converted into salt pans."* For about 250 years it remained in this ruinous condition, and is well depicted by Messrs. Lysons,† from whose drawing the accompanying illustration is taken. "Many of the incumbents of Holm Cultram," says Whellan, "were inducted into the parish church of Newton Arlosh amid the ruins of the ancient edifice."

In 1844 the church was restored by Canon Simpson, Miss Losh, and others, and has been since rather unfortunately enlarged. In 1856 the parish was separated by Lord Blandford's Act from the mother church of Holm Cultram, and in 1894 considerable alterations were made in the interior.

Description.

So great was the attention paid to security in the construction of this edifice that the main doorway was only made 2 feet 7 inches wide, all the windows were placed more than 7 feet from the ground, and not one, not even

* *Some Records of a Cistercian Abbey*, p. 81.
† *Magna Britannia*, vol. iv., p. cxci.

the principal east window, measures more than 1 foot in width and 3 feet 4 inches in height.

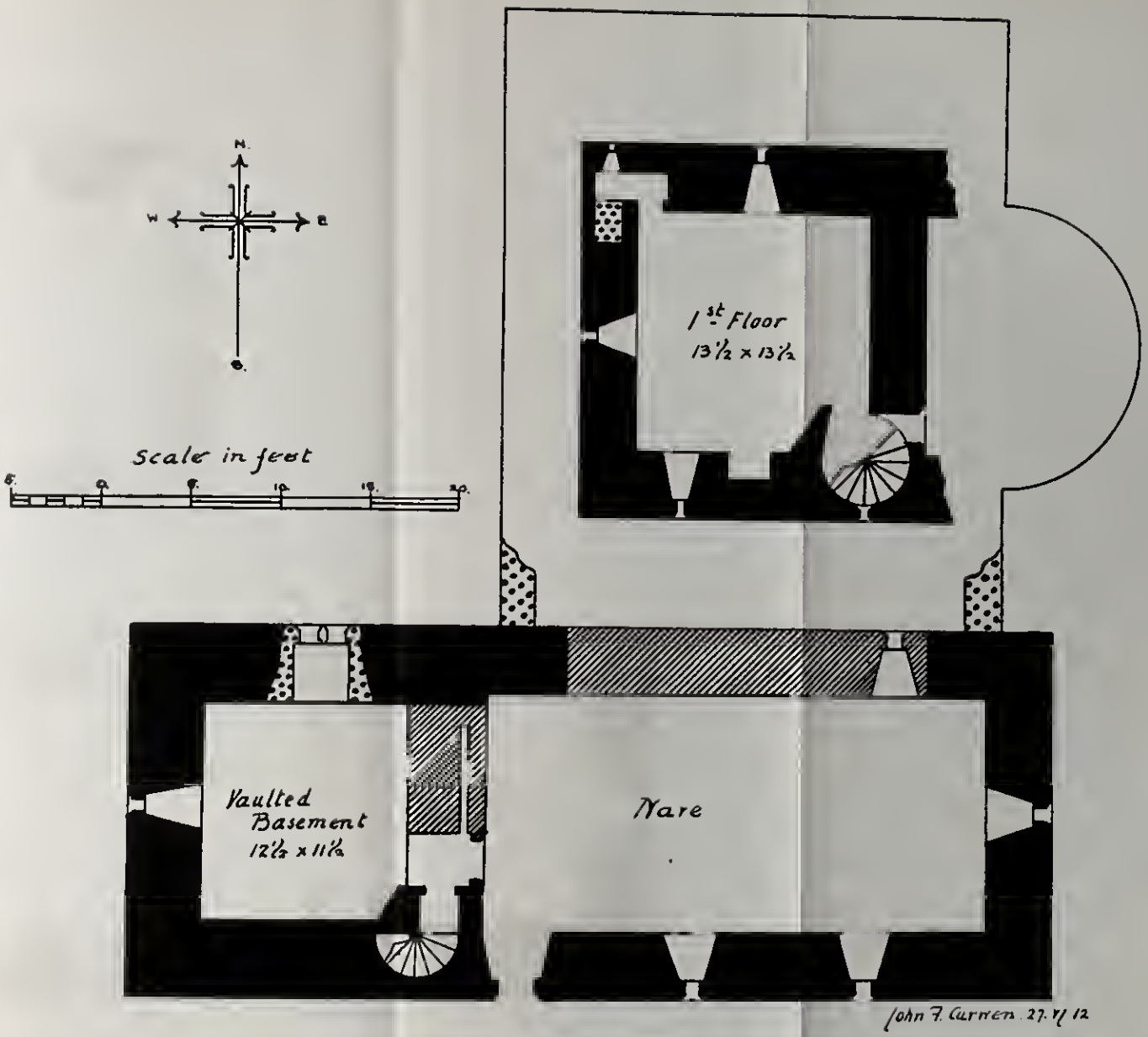
Supposing the church to be gained by the raiders, refuge was sought in the tower. It is a pity that the lower portion of the wall against the nave has been pulled down so that the original arrangement has been lost, but fortunately we can reconstruct it from the similar example at Burgh. Here we find, piercing the massive wall, a narrow doorway, giving the only access to the tower. It is strongly protected by an iron-framed door constructed of thick crossing bars, 2 inches by 1 inch, forming a grill of 8-inch mesh, and the whole covered over with oak planks and fastened by two massive bolts. The wooden covering has perished, but the iron skeleton of the door would still defy any ordinary effort to force a passage, whilst the great thickness of the surrounding masonry would effectually prevent any attempt to gain other ingress.*

Within is the vaulted basement of the tower, secure against fire, and measuring 12 feet 6 inches by 11 feet 6 inches. It is lighted by a small unglazed loop-hole, 18 inches high and 9 inches wide on the west side.

In the event of the door being forced and the basement carried, the newel staircase, with its winding steps up which only one person could ascend at a time, could still be easily defended whilst the bells would be rung to give the alarm.

This newel stairway ascends to the first floor of the tower, at the head of which there was a small opening, as at Burgh, commanding the interior of the church and the besiegers attacking the door beneath. This opening has been enlarged and made to resemble a doorway, and the fact that the walls of the church set back about this level gives the false local impression that at some period a sort of gallery went along the south wall

* A similar door exists at Great Salkeld.



NEWTON ARLOSH CHURCH.

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and was entered from off the newel stair. But this is quite an error. The reason for the original opening has been noted, and the reason for the wall setting back is explained by the restoration of 1844, when the upper portion of the walls were rebuilt with less substantial masonry and the nave reroofed.

The first floor of the tower measures 13 feet 6 inches square, and is lighted by three narrow windows or rather arrow slits on the north, south and west sides. A fireplace existed on the south wall to insure the comfort as well as the safety of the refugees, and a mural garderobe remains at the north-west angle. The western arm of this chamber was built up solid when a large rent in the face of the tower at this point was restored.

The second floor has been rebuilt. It is now somewhat similar to the floor below except that it has no fireplace and that a fourth window has been added above the nave roof. Messrs. Lysons give the plans in their *Magna Britannia*, but by a mistake the lettering "Second story" and "Third story" has been transposed.

Without, there are traces of a dial to be found on a stone in the east jamb of the entrance doorway. The circle is $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches in diameter with two rays, one supposed to be marking noon and the other about one o'clock.

Art. X.—*The Newton Arlosh Pitcher.* By J. C. Varty-Smith.

An interesting earthenware pitcher, pertaining to the fourteenth century, was dug up in the spring of 1907 by Mr. William Hodgson of West House, Newton Arlosh, Cumberland, whilst carting sand from the marsh for building purposes. The sandpit in which the pitcher was found, is situated on the marsh near the entrance, and about three-quarters of a mile north of the village, and at a place marked on the maps as the site of ancient salt or evaporating pans. That many of these existed on this part of the coast is evidenced by old place-names, such as Saltcoats, the hamlet adjoining Newton Arlosh.

The present writer examined the place in which the pitcher was found, digging down to the depth of some feet and finding, below the surface, layers of burnt clay, charcoal, and salt-glazed clinkers, proving that the place in which the jug was found was the site of an old salt pan. It is quite possible that this jug or pitcher was used by a salt-maker and lost through the action of those devastating tides of which we read as breaking down the old sea dykes of Skinburness, drowning many of the workmen, washing away the salt-pans, and causing waste and destruction to acres of land.

The pitcher, which is still in the possession of the finder, is composed of light terra-cotta clay. It has been turned on the wheel and was probably manufactured in the neighbourhood, as clay is found there and brick-kilns exist up to the present time.

In mediæval times land transport of goods was difficult, therefore many small local potteries existed, especially for the making of pitchers, jugs, beer mugs, and drinking

THE NEWTON ARLOSH PITCHER.

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vessels of mean appearance, such as the example under consideration.

The pitcher is 10¼ inches in height, 10½ inches in circumference at the largest part, and 4½ inches across the mouth. The handle, which is very rudely made and put on, is 1½ inches broad. The sides and bottom are covered by a greenish-yellow translucent lead glaze which has run in places towards the mouth, showing that the piece was inverted during the process of firing. The interior is unglazed—a common and distinctive feature in examples of this period.

Lead glaze is of great antiquity, and its use was widespread. In 600 B.C. lead formed the glaze for the Babylonian bricks, while some Roman ware, found in this country and dating from the second and third centuries of our era, was coated with lead glaze. It is generally of a yellowish tone, but is often coloured green with oxide of copper, and was much used on domestic earthenware in mediæval times.

Thirteenth-century vessels of this kind—that is to say, a century earlier than the specimen under consideration—were much taller and more slender in form, with slightly convex bases; they stood, in many cases, over sixteen inches in height, as seen in well-known museum specimens which have been found containing coins belonging to the thirteenth century. Pitchers of the fourteenth century seem to have a tendency to become broader and shorter; of which the Newton Arlosh pitcher represents a common type.

ART. XI.—*The Luck of Burrell Green.* By D. SCOTT.

Read at Great Salkeld Institute, September 5th, 1912.

MY duty is that of telling a twice-told tale when showing to you the Luck of Burrell Green. One cannot go to original sources for information, because none are known to exist. We have to depend entirely, or almost entirely, on tradition, and even that is confined to a few points—for one dare not venture to call them facts.

Burrell Green is a farmhouse in this parish, and a short distance from this Institute. Having purchased it some years ago, our host, Mr. Heywood Thompson, also became the owner of the Luck. As you will see, it is a brass dish of early embossed work, 16¼ inches in diameter, and 1½ inches deep. It is, I think, worthy of note, when considering the antiquity of the Luck, that none of the historians of the county mention it ; nor is any reference to the dish to be found in such a modern book as Samuel Jefferson's "Leath Ward" (1840). The first printed account of it I have been able to trace is to be found in the "Art Journal" for December, 1879, by Mr. Llewellyn Jewitt, F.S.A., and the article was accompanied by an engraving from a painting by Mr. Jacob Thompson, who was then living at Hackthorpe.

The next account, and the earliest local one, appeared in the *Transactions* of this Society (O.S. xv., p. 136) in a paper read at Penrith in September, 1897, after the Society had visited Great Salkeld. Mr. John Lamb, the author of that paper, was the son of the owner and occupier of Burrell Green, and so the possessor of the Luck. For at least three generations his family had owned the place. He, if any one, should have been able to discover its history, but apparently he could

not do so, as he merely remarked that "the Luck has been in the possession of the respective families residing at Burrell Green for many generations, but it has not been brought very much before the public."

Soon after Mr. Lamb's paper was read, there appeared a reference to it in Mr. Hartshorne's book, "Old English Glasses," wherein he pointed out the difference between this Luck and the others for which Cumberland is famous—those of Eden Hall, Workington Hall, and Muncaster. The one at Burrell Green has the merit, or quality, of strength, while the others are extremely fragile. Mr. Hartshorne describes this brass charger as of late

THE LUCK OF BURRELL GREEN
BEFORE THE DESTRUCTION OF THE LETTERING.

sixteenth century character. When Mr. Thompson made his sketch the characters could easily be read—as shown in the woodcut reproduced from these *Transactions* for fifteen years ago.

Round the central "wrythen" flutes, in black or late Gothic letters, were the words, "Mary . Mother . Of . Jesus . Saviour : Of . Men." On the outer ring, in modern lettering, was the couplet :

> IF THIS DISH BE SOLD OR GI'EN,
> FAREWELL THE LUCK OF BURRELL GREEN.

Mr. Hartshorne in his note added : "Such a travestie of picturesque antiquity tends to shake the faith in luck altogether." He advanced the theory that this Luck may have done duty as the alms-dish in a church, but the Rev. A. G. Loftie, late Rector of Great Salkeld, in his history of the parish, says it had not been part of the church plate of Great Salkeld. He also pointed out that

> Such words [as were in the inscription] were commonly used in the olden time for the decoration of ordinary household articles. It is most probably a domestic platter or dish of the sixteenth century, that is about the same date as the Elizabethan silver cup in the church, which bears the York date letter for 1567-8.

Between 1879 and 1897 the polishing propensities of those who had charge of the Luck had resulted in the letters of the inscriptions being rubbed away ; as you will perceive there are no letters now capable of being completely traced. This must not be put down to mere perversity ; the brass tarnishes easily, and so needs frequent cleaning.

As to how the dish advanced from the dignity of a mere household dish to a legendary Luck, Mr. Lamb quotes the tradition that "it was given to the family residing there long ago by a 'Hob-i'-the-Hurst,' or by a witch or soothsayer, to whom kindness had been shown," with the injunction contained in the rhyme. I am told that another version of the gift runs that the good fortune would disappear if the Luck were to pass out of the

THE LUCK OF BURRELL GREEN.

Phot. by Mr. A. Smith, Great Salkeld School.

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possession of the family at Burrell Green "either for love or money," but as a matter of hard fact there have been two such owners in recent years.

That the owners of the Luck believed it to possess uncanny attributes is shown by a fact recorded by Mr. Lamb, that "on the day Burrell Green last changed owners, the Luck fell down three times in succession from its usual position, a circumstance which at that time had not been known to have occurred before, it always having been kept in a secure place."

To the present esteemed owner may the Luck always bring the best of good fortune!

ART. XII.—*A Seventeenth Century Silver Spoon.* By L. E. HOPE, Museum Curator, Tullie House.

Read at Carlisle, June 27th, 1912.

AN old silver spoon was purchased by the Museum Committee a few months ago. It is an example of the type of spoon in use in England during the seventeenth century and after the Restoration.

The spoon is ornamented with a design known as the "*rat tail,*" a long triangular member running down the back of the bowl, covering and forming the junction between handle and bowl.

The handle is heavy compared with the bowl, and the end is three-lobed, a type of handle which was introducd during the period immediately following the Restoration.

On the underside of the wide part of the handle are two initial letters, M.L., and a date which I make out to be 1657, a date which perfectly coincides with the design and pattern of the spoon.

Along the back of the stem or handle is stamped a series of four Tudor roses, and it is in these roses that the interest of the spoon lies. The roses are stamped or punched in relief, and are the type of rose which figures on the arms of the city of Carlisle.

The late Chancellor R. S. Ferguson, in his paper "On a supposed touch or assay of silver at Carlisle" (these *Transactions*, O.S. vii., p. 64), suggests that during the sixteenth century Carlisle had some sort of an irregular assay, or at least had silversmiths practising their art and stamping their work with their initials and with a rose or roses, which may have been the mark of the city. He instances three communion cups at Bolton, Ireby and Cliburn, which possess these marks, and from their

A SEVENTEENTH CENTURY SILVER SPOON
IN THE CARLISLE MUSEUM.

Phot. by L. E. Hope.

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rudeness of workmanship and primitive manner of construction infers that they are of local manufacture; and as they bear the rose mark, what place is more likely to have produced them than Carlisle? The rose on these cups is a simple sexfoil, similar to the rose upon the ancient seal of the city of Carlisle, which was in use in the fifteenth century and exists to-day, and such as was used on the Siege coins of Carlisle struck during the siege of 1645.

The initials on these cups are undoubtedly those of the maker, and the roses, if not, as the late Chancellor suggests, evidence of an assay at Carlisle, are possibly an additional maker's mark.

It became compulsory during the fourteenth century for silversmiths to mark their work, to ensure quality, and later these marks were generally the maker's initials, although up to 1720, when more stringent regulations were enacted, it is possible that additional marks were used which might be simply a trade mark, not necessarily an assay or Hall mark. This being so, what more suitable mark could a Carlisle maker use than the rose as it figured on the great seal of the city?

Returning to the roses on the stem of the silver spoon; if this spoon was made in Carlisle in the seventeenth century, and before 1720 (as we know it was from the inscribed date), it is quite possible that it would bear a maker's mark, and that mark might, I think, be a rose, of the type which figures on the arms of the city—a barbed Tudor rose.

The difficulty which presents itself with a piece of silver of this period is the absence of the initials of the maker, the practice of using the initials being general if not compulsory at that time.

After examining the spoon carefully I have formed the opinion that bowl and handle are not of the same class of manufacture.

The ornament of the bowl enclosed by the "rat-tail" is extremely fine work and daintily executed, whilst the ornament on the stem is simply done with a punch, and the spacing is somewhat irregular and unsymmetrical, possibly the work of a Carlisle silversmith, and just the class of work to be expected; whilst the bowl is finely made and the ornament the work of an expert, more like the work of a London silversmith or even of a Continental workman.

If the spoon was originally the work of a London silversmith the London mark and the maker's initials would be on the original handle, which probably was broken off and lost. The bowl may have been brought to the Carlisle silversmith to have a new handle attached. He probably did the best he could to match the bowl by fitting a three-lobed handle and ornamenting it on the back with a row of four roses; Tudor roses, because he possessed a stamp which had probably been the mark used by his predecessors at Carlisle for generations.

The spoon was sent to Mr. Wheatley from a client at Sheffield, and from him passed into the hands of the Museum Committee through Major Spencer Ferguson, who is interested in the rose mark on silver.

ART. XIII.—*Report of the Excavations at Papcastle*, 1912. By R. G. COLLINGWOOD, B.A.

Read at the site, June 28th, and at Penrith, September 5th, 1912.

THE Roman fort at Papcastle stands on a hill nearly 300 feet high, overlooking the river Derwent. The south side of this hill is occupied by the village of Papcastle, below which flows the river; the north side falls steeply into a narrow depression, marshy at the bottom and affording a natural defence on this side. Eastward the hill is joined to the higher ground, of which it is a spur, by a neck hardly lower than the summit; and to the west it runs down in a long ridge to the flat ground by the river-side. The position only requires a rampart, thrown across the neck of the spur, to become an easily defensible fort: and its value is increased by strategical facts. Papcastle is not only the site of a ford across the rapid and dangerous Derwent, but it is a good centre for roads up and down the valley, north to Old Carlisle, south-east up the Cocker, and south-west to the south Cumberland coast.

That many of these roads existed in Roman times is certain. The Roman road to Maryport has been plotted by the late Mr. F. L. B. Dykes, of Dovenby (see these *Transactions*, O.S. i., p. 169). That to Old Carlisle is represented for the most part by the modern main road. There must have been one by way of the Derwent valley to Brougham, and there was one or more to Egremont and Ravenglass or to Moresby.

On such a site, and at the junction of so many roads, a station of some importance might be expected. Previous

finds confirm this expectation. Hutchinson (*History of Cumberland*, i., 257) gives an extract of a letter from Mr. Routh, junr., 16th January, 1741/2, referring to the discovery of a pavement and walls in the field between the village and the river now known as Sibby. The pavement was "curiously laid with large flags ¾ yd. square and two or three inches thick," upon a "coarse strong cement"; of the walls, two ran east and west, seven yards apart, one of which stood upon the paving and was "secured by a fine red cement two inches thick." A third wall ran at right angles to these. On the paving were found a Samian vase and "a sort of stone trough or rather base of a pillar, about a foot high, the hollowed part square and about two inches deep." The same letter refers to the previous discovery of a drain. On April 15th, 1743, Mr. Routh describes a fibula and a coin of Trajan, found at a considerable depth.

Stukeley describes a "subterraneous vault, floored with large slabs of freestone, found at the S.E. angle" of the fort; also "slates with iron pins in them" and "coins of Claudius Adrian and a silver Geta" between the camp and the river.

Lysons refers to the discovery of coins.

Samian ware and coins have been found in considerable quantities in the village itself at various times, especially in the laying of sewers, gas-mains, etc. The pottery is described by eye-witnesses as having been both plain and figured. The only examples of it seen by myself are a bowl (Dragendorff 27), in the possession of Miss Harris, and two late decorated fragments (Dragendorff 37), in the possession of Mr. Waugh. Of the coins, I was shown ten by Mrs. Dover. They included a denarius of Septimius Severus, a second brass of Trajan and a small brass of Constantius: the others were brasses of small denominations and illegible. These were found, with many others, in the garden of the Mount. More

recently coins were discovered near the south-east angle of the fort, in making a garage. Mr. Waugh has a second brass of Trajan and Mr. Wadham one of Vespasian.

In 1870 a Roman well was found in the garden at Derwent Lodge. It is 2 feet 4 inches in diameter and 25 to 30 feet deep. No remains were found in it, but a quantity of raw clay was lying by the side of it. This was made up into vases in Samian shapes, one of which was shown me by Mr. Harris. The clay of this vase so closely resembles the ordinary Samian fabric that it almost suggests an attempt at making Samian ware on the spot, though this is, of course, highly improbable. But it is certainly not the local clay, and must have been imported.

Samian ware has also been found, associated with blackened grain, in the side of the road running immediately east of the camp between Papcastle and Bellevue. This grain is still to be found at the same spot.

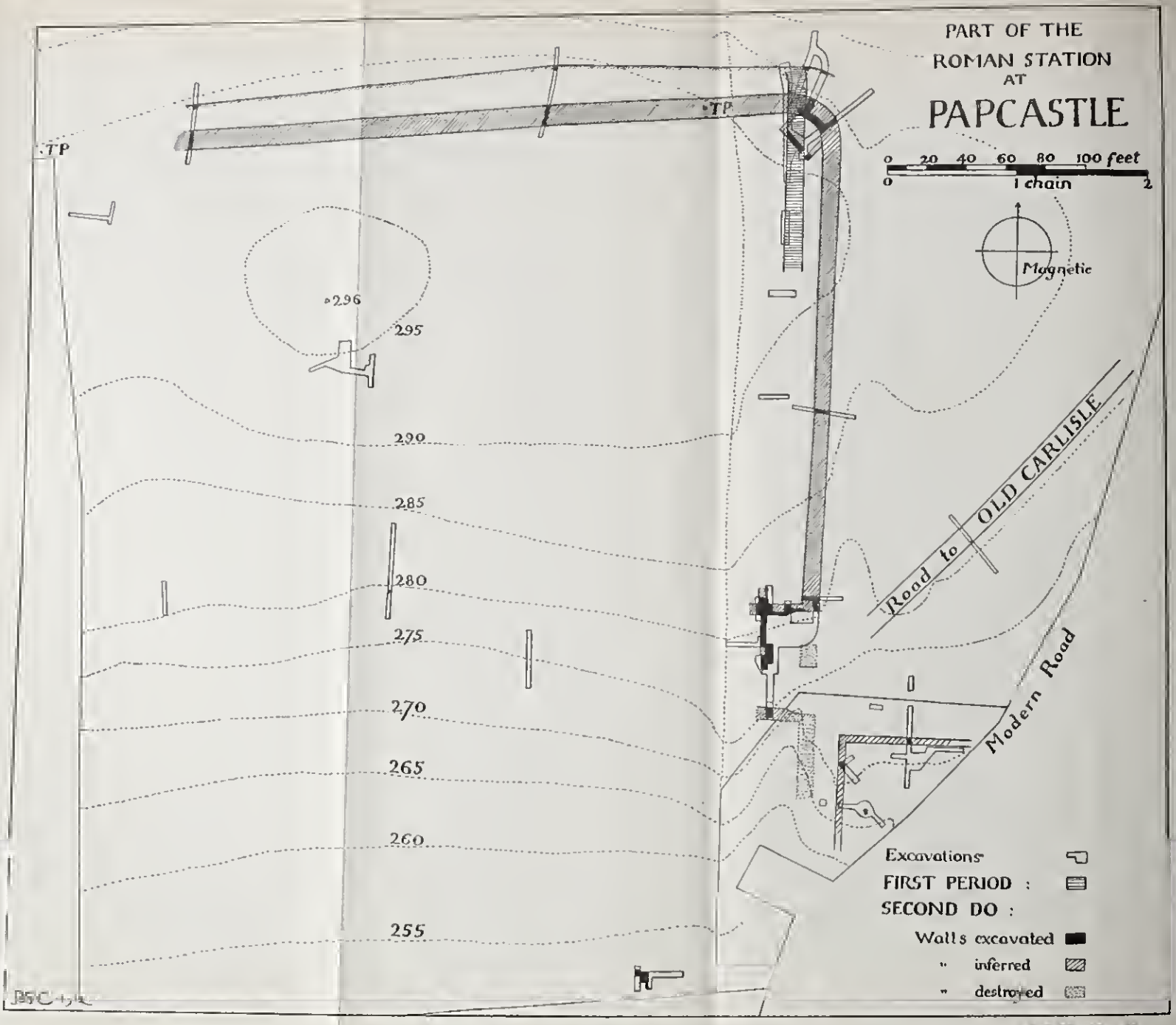
Several inscriptions are known from Papcastle. One, now in the garden at Lindenside in the possession of Miss Harris, is given in the *Lapidarium Septentrionale* (No. 908) as ƆIVICTORINI (centuria Juli Victorini), but seems to read rather VIVICTORINI. The inscription is not fragmentary, so that it cannot read, *e.g.*, FLA]VI VICTORINI; there is a blank space before the first letter, and there has never been more than one line of letters. The first two letters of the name may possibly have been repeated by mistake. Two other inscriptions (*Lapid.*, 906, 907, Hübner *C.I.L.* vii., 84, 90) date from the reign of Gordianus, in the years 241 and 242 A.D. These inscriptions seem to fix the name of the site as Aballava or Aballaba. The former spelling is supported by the Rudge Cup, the latter by the Notitia. The Ravenna Cosmography has Avalaria. It is suggested that the name is from the Gaelic *Abhall*, Welsh *Afal*, apple, from which several places in Ireland are named;

compare Appleby (which Camden thought was the Roman Aballava), Applethwaite, Avalon, etc.

Of other finds the only ones I have been able to trace are the bronze statuette described by the late Chancellor Ferguson in *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, N.S. vii., p. 267, and a clay lamp found recently with coins and a pavement near the west side of the fort.

From these discoveries it was long evident that Roman Papcastle was more than a mere fort. The remains extend from the top to the bottom of the hill and cover a large area. But the greater part of this area is now built over, and it is impossible to explore it methodically. The only portions at present accessible are the fields above and below the village, the former containing the station itself or a part of it, the latter, as we know from the finds recorded by Hutchinson, various other buildings. We have seen that very few discoveries, if any, had been made within the ramparts of the fort: and accordingly it was decided in 1912 to dig in the field above the village. The Council of this Society appointed a committee consisting of the owner, Mr. H. B. Dykes of Dovenby, Col. Edwin Jackson, and Mr. J. H. Martindale, F.R.I.B.A. The excavation was directed by the present writer, assisted by Miss U. M. Collingwood. From four to seven men were employed, and the expenses of the work, which lasted a fortnight, were defrayed by the Research Fund.

The primary object of the excavation was to fix the limits of the camp. On the east, the line of rampart and ditch is well marked across the neck of the hill. These were trenched through, and were found to be much disturbed by a surface-drain in the ditch and by the complete removal of facing-stones from the wall, of which the rubble alone remained. The drain was in the bottom of the ditch, and no objects were found there; but its section could be clearly traced in the stiff yellow clay which forms the subsoil.



TO FACE PAGE 135

The northern rampart is not so clearly visible, but its line was traced on the surface between two telephone-poles which have been planted in it, and by the hollows left by fallen trees which had taken root in the stonework. No ditch was found here, as the strong slope of the hill renders it unnecessary: but a retaining wall about 12 feet north of the rampart seems to have taken its place. The rampart on excavation proved to be less robbed than that on the east, and measured about 9 feet across.

The length of this northern wall is defined by its intersection with the east wall and by the north-west corner, which can be traced with ease. The limits of the eastern rampart, however, cannot be so defined, as no remains of the south rampart are visible. Accordingly we looked for a gate in it. This was located by a causeway standing well above the general level of the field and proving to be a road running north-easterly in the direction of Old Carlisle. It is probably the main road between that place and Papcastle, and can be traced across the next field, east of the modern road, though its traces farther on have been obliterated by the making of the road from Maryport to Cockermouth. Most of the kerbstones on its south-east side have been removed, and its north-west side has been disturbed by a drain: but the surface was found, consisting of two layers of tightly packed stones and clay bedded on a layer of large stones and containing a few fragments of Samian and charcoal.

The east gate was found at the intersection of this road with the rampart. It was a double gateway, of which the northern half had been closed by a wall subsequent to the main building. Both the north and south jambs were found: but the northern one has been much robbed of stone, and immediately beyond the southern the whole rampart has been quarried away, so that a deep

hollow now takes its place. If however the gate was in the middle of the wall, the south-east angle must have been at the corner of the modern road between the Pinfold and the entrance to the Mount garden, though probably at a higher level.

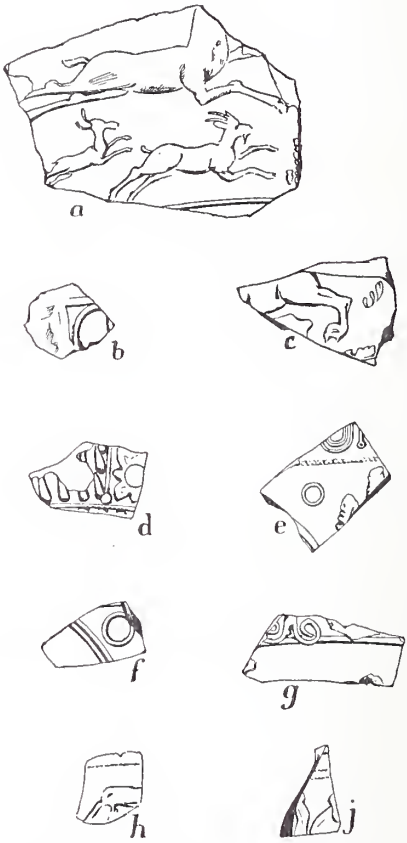


FIG. 1.—FIGURED SAMIAN WARE (½).

The gateway was paved with a concrete of lime and gravel, laid on larger stones. This form of paving we found all over the site; the gravel was brought from the river and contained many quartz and coloured

pebbles, which were laid on the surface no doubt for the sake of ornament. On the floor were many fragments of roofing slate, amphorae (including fig. 2) and Samian,

FIG. 2.—STAMP ON AMPHORA-HANDLE ($\frac{1}{1}$).

including a piece of shape 37 in the late Lezoux free style dating late in the second century (fig. 1*a*). Here also we found a clay pellet, spherical, and about $\frac{1}{2}$ inch diameter, exactly like a modern marble and apparently too small for a sling-bullet.

The previous discovery of blackened grain in the road south-east of this gate suggested that a granary might have existed there. We dug accordingly close to the road, and found a building, outside the rampart, paved in the manner described above, but very much ruined. Of its west wall the clay foundation alone remained. One course of its north wall was found. The east wall has been cut away in making the road, and the south wall has also disappeared, except for three large blocks of rough stone which may possibly have formed a very rude pillar-base. A good deal of Samian in small fragments and coarse ware chiefly buff, was

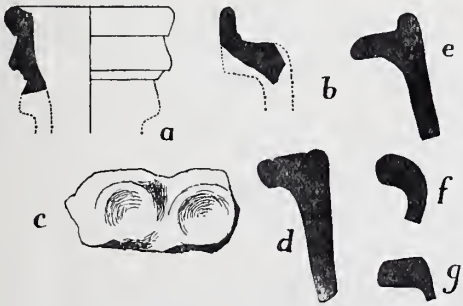


FIG. 3.—MISCELLANEOUS COARSE WARE ($\frac{1}{2}$).

found; one Samian dish, shape 31, was recognisable. The north-east portion of this building has been used as a rubbish heap, and Roman pottery was found indiscriminately mixed with modern wares of many different periods from mediæval green glaze onward. There was, however, no sign of a granary: and the fact that this building, which lies on undisturbed soil, is higher in level than the spot where the grain is still to be seen suggests that, if there was a granary, it has been quite destroyed. Some portions of it might perhaps be found in the field across the road, where there are indications of a building.

Here, and elsewhere in the site, small pieces of red fired clay were found, together with very friable bricks of the same clay. These seemed to indicate local brickworks; and from Mr. T. M. Harris and Mr. John Gorley, one of our diggers, I learnt that bricks had been made near Cockermouth till within living memory. Mr. Harris identified one of these local bricks, known as Mackereth bricks, in a wall near by, and the clay seems to me to be the same, though the modern brick is much better fired than the ancient. Mr. Gorley added that another brickfield, called the Bolton brickworks (from their owner), was working 47 years ago on the Brigham road out of Cockermouth. Another feature of the site was the large number of early tobacco pipes found. Some of these were the common early Broseley clays, others of the same pattern but made of local clay. These are found freely scattered near Papcastle, and are ascribed by local tradition to the "Picts" (*i.e.*, fairies?).

At the north side of this building, on the paving but outside the wall, we found two skeletons which Mr. E. S. Goodrich, F.R.S., kindly examined and found to be bones of very young calves. The northern edge of this paving is destroyed.

We also explored the north-east corner of the camp. The corner-tower was located, and coarse pottery and

sheep-bones found on the paving. In clearing this floor we came across a wall-footing of ashlar well laid with lime mortar. This wall ran north and south, parallel with the east rampart; at this point its eastern face seems to have formed a threshold for the corner-tower. We followed it, after finding its western face, in a southerly direction. Here it gradually came nearer to the surface, and about 20 yards from the corner-tower it disappeared. In the other direction it went deeper under the ground, going under the north rampart at about 3 feet 6 inches from the surface and afterwards beginning to curve in a westerly direction. With it were associated fragments of Samian of an earlier type than those previously found, including part of a vase of shape 30. These fragments are dated by Mr. J. P. Bushe-Fox, who kindly examined them, in the Antonine period (middle second century), whereas the others are all late second century and later. Here, then, it appears that we have the wall of an earlier fort, lying near but not on the lines of the later building. The systematic stone-robbing which has removed all the later facings did not penetrate to the earlier wall, which lies for the most part below the later pavements. We only located this small piece of it.

We also trenched the inside of the camp in various places. The north rampart runs almost along the crest of the hill, so that the whole camp slopes strongly to the south; and we found that parts of it at least had been terraced with retaining walls. Near the top of the hill the soil is only about 6 inches deep and there are no coherent remains. Lower down the depth of soil increases considerably; but our trial trenches showed nothing but the retaining walls till we got into the southern part of the camp, where a building was discovered containing large quantities of pottery, though all very fragmentary, nails, bones and one coin, a denarius of Galba. But

here again the Roman remains were much disturbed by draining, and green glaze and "Picts' pipes" were found, together with Castor and mortaria. A quantity of cannel was found here as in other parts.

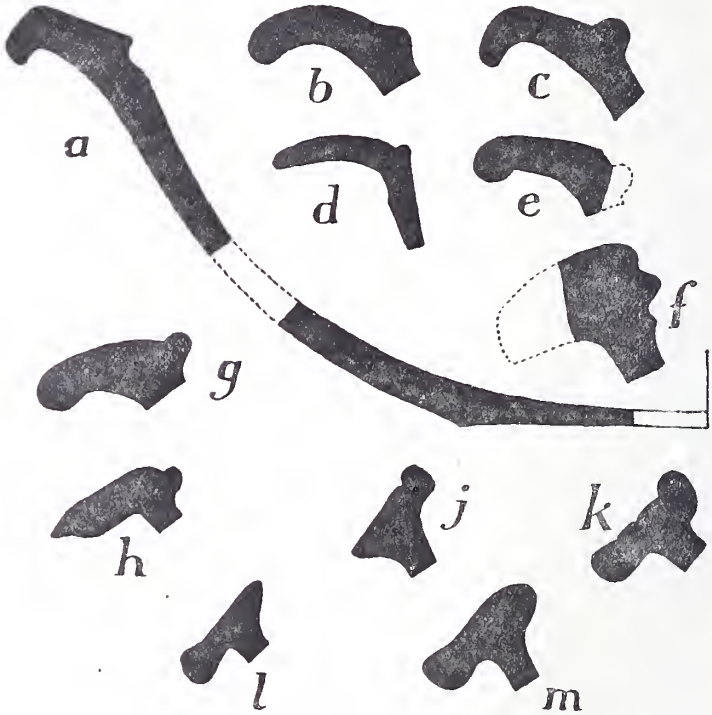


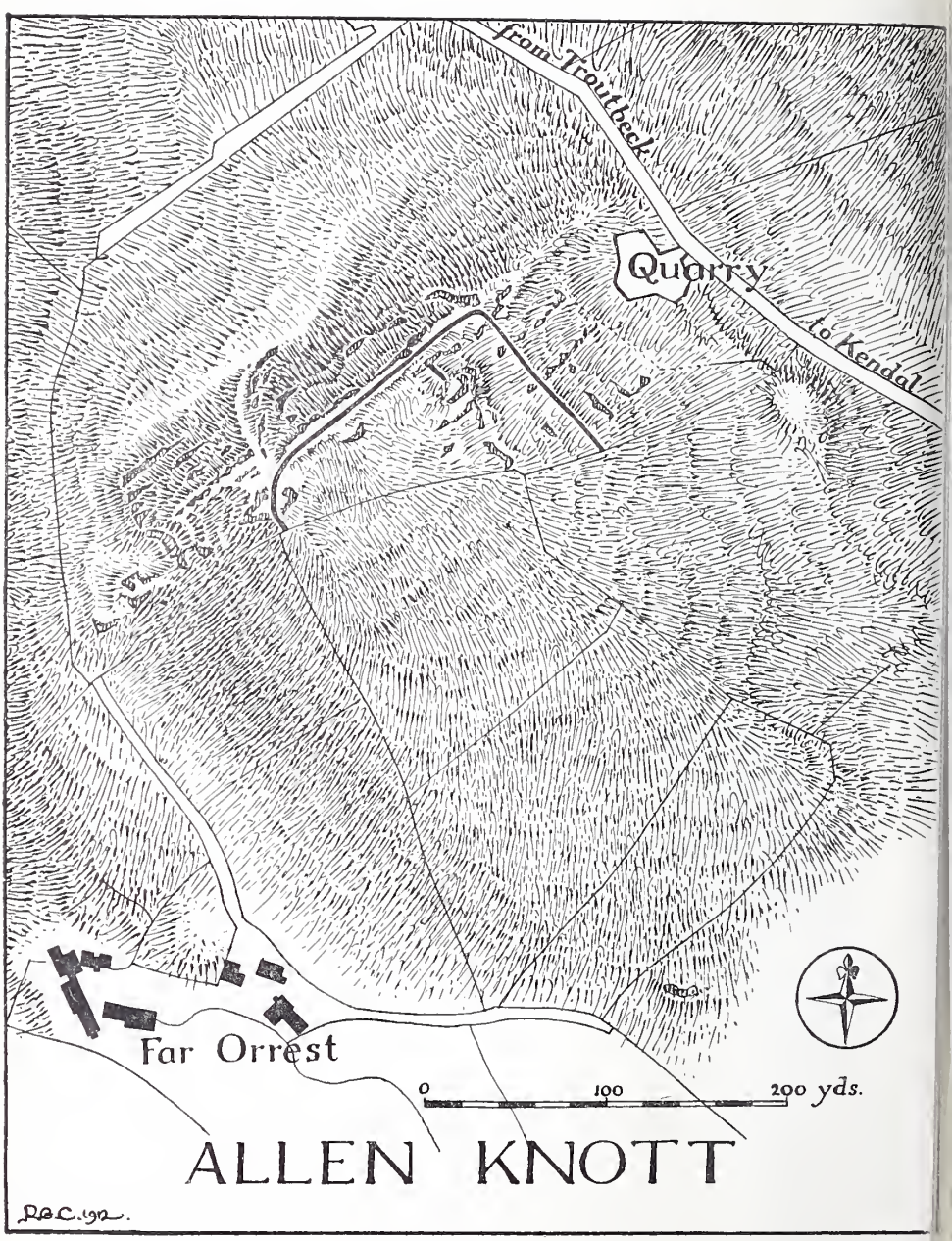
FIG. 4.—MORTARIA (½).

Our operations did not extend west of the hedge which roughly bisects the camp. Close to this hedge we drove a trench for the principia, but found nothing on the clay subsoil. Farther north we found the remains of a paving, close to the surface; the stones of which it had been made came out in large quantities. These were mostly red stone and broken roughly into cubes like those of a tesselated pavement. But there

was no foundation, and it looked as if these stones had been deposited there from a destroyed pavement rather than laid into one on the spot.

So brief an exploration was not intended to be exhaustive, and its results are not final. The whole site has been so thoroughly disturbed in the search for building stone that a complete excavation would perhaps be of little service. Our positive conclusions may be briefly put. There were two Roman forts at Papcastle: the earlier, of which we have only the north-east corner, built in good ashlar and lime masonry, and the later, less well built but probably larger, constructed late in the second century A.D. There does not seem to be any interval of time between the two occupations; but we may perhaps connect the second with the general reorganisation of the frontier district associated with the name of Severus. Of this we have the north and east walls, the former complete and the length of the latter suggested by the position of the gate from which the Old Carlisle road started. It appears to have been a roughly rectangular fort, measuring perhaps 620 by 540 feet. But the comparative poverty of its internal remains might lead us to suppose that it was not an important military station.

Other problems remain, and new ones have arisen. If excavation should ever be renewed, it might determine the size of the earlier fort by following its north wall, and reveal some of its interior buildings. The principia of the later camp are still to seek, and the whole of its western area is untouched.


from Troutbeck
Quarry
to Kendal
Far Orrest
0
100
200 yds.
ALLEN KNOTT
R.&C. 192.

ART. XIV.—*The Earthwork on Allen Knott, Applethwaite (Windermere).* By R. G. COLLINGWOOD, B.A.

Read at Penrith, September 5th, 1912.

ALLEN KNOTT is a hill standing rather more than 700 feet above sea level and overlooking the valley of Troutbeck. To the west, the ground falls abruptly into the valley; to the south, a gentler slope leads to the farm of Orrest; to the north and east the hill is separated from the central fells of Applethwaite Common by a slack through which runs the road from Ings to Troutbeck. Immediately north of the summit of Allen Knott this road is joined by another coming straight down the valley from Hag Gill, into the head of which the Roman road descends from High Street. This road, known as Irishman's Lane, is of modern construction; but it represents by far the most probable line of the Roman road.

The site of the Roman road from Kendal to Ambleside has not been hitherto fixed. It is unlikely that it went so far out of the straight line as to follow the modern route by Troutbeck Bridge, and it seems in every way more probable that it ran north-westerly through Ings, on which line the names Broadgate and Causey suggest its presence. A short section of Roman road is still visible in a field on Causey Farm, not far from the modern road from Ings to Troutbeck; but this is nearly at right angles to the modern road.

If these two identifications are correct, the Roman roads met at a point barely 200 yards from and overlooked by the summit of Allen Knott. This makes the site an important strategical point: and the name of the nearest

farm (Orrest, Icelandic *orrösta*, battle) indicates a tradition of fighting close at hand.

Of the earthwork itself, the existing remains probably represent barely one-half. The north-west rampart is complete. It crowns a ridge of the Brathay flags of which the hill is composed, running roughly north-east and south-west ; this ridge falls in steep crags to the north-west, and upon the other side commands the more or less level ground within the earthwork. Where this ridge ends westward, the rampart bends to the south, crossing the gap between the first ridge and a hummock forming part of the second, and thence to a fence-wall, beyond which it has been entirely obliterated by cultivation. The north-east rampart, on the gentler slope leading down to the road, is less well marked ; but there may have been a second rampart here, one section of which is still visible spanning the gap between two rock-ridges at a point within the northern angle. This, however, differs from the rest of the construction in containing large unworked stones.

There are no traces of a fosse or of internal buildings, and the whole of the south-eastern rampart, together with the greater part of the south-western, has been destroyed. The only existing sign of an entrance is a path, the lower part of which is cut in the rock, leading up the north-western crags to the western corner at the point where the rampart crosses the gap mentioned above ; but the rampart is not interrupted.

Granting the connexion of these remains with the Roman roads, it does not necessarily follow, as Codrington and others have supposed, that they are of Roman origin. The fort is about 460 feet long by at least 320, that being the length of the existing portion of the north-east rampart. It was therefore probably nearer in size to the great forts along the Wall than to such constructions as Hardknott, which is closely analogous to it in situation.

If therefore it was a permanent fort, it was a place of considerable size and importance. This is completely disproved by the entire absence of finds. Half the site has been made into fields, and relics, if there were any to find, must have appeared. One of the ramparts was recently trenched through for drainage, and careful search made for any objects which might throw light on the nature of the site. The disturbed earth of the rampart was clearly distinguishable from the natural soil beneath it, but no finds were made. This would be impossible in the case of a permanent Roman fort.

There are also objections to the view that it was a temporary camp. In the first place, the rock-cut path which gives access to its western angle would be a puzzling feature. Secondly, the absence of finds would still be a difficulty. Thirdly, the character of the defences is not Roman. On the east side, where a Roman camp would show a well marked fosse, it is plain that there has never been a ditch at all, though the ground would admit of it. Also, in a Roman camp, we should expect a gate in this rampart ; but there is none.

Nor does Allen Knott belong to the well-marked class of Westmorland British settlements, of which the nearest example is not two miles off, at Hugill. Such settlements often, as at Ewe Close, Crosby Ravensworth, stand in close relation to the Roman road-system. But their plan is of a type entirely distinct from that of Allen Knott, which contains no hut-circles or enclosures. It is a mere hill-fort, adapted not for permanent inhabitation but for use as occasion might demand, though, as the rock-cut path suggests, a permanent construction. The use for which it was designed is shown by its situation. No better point could have been chosen at which to resist an invader coming by the Scots' Rake or the Ravenglass road. In fact it is of the type of pelegarths, such as we know at Foldsteads and Ponsonby Infell (see these *Transactions*, N.S. ii., v.).

The accompanying plan is based on the 25-inch Ordnance Survey, in which the earthwork is not marked. I am indebted to Mr. W. Little, of Chapel Ridding, the owner of the site, for much valuable assistance and information, and it is not likely that, under his ownership, the earthwork will suffer any further damage.

ART. XV.—"*The Fatall Nuptiall,*" *a tract* (*by Richard Brathwaite* ?) *on the Windermere Ferry Accident of* 1635. By W. G. COLLINGWOOD.

THE account given by Mr. H. S. Cowper, F.S.A., in his *Hawkshead* (pp. 243-246) of the great ferry disaster on October 19th, 1635, suggested recently to Mr. Charles Hughes of Manchester and Coniston, editor of Fynes Morison, etc., that farther search might be made for a lost book on the subject mentioned under the title of *The Fatall Nuptiall.* Mr. Hughes found a copy in the Bodleian among the Rawlinson collection, which had not been catalogued when Mr. Cowper wrote: and this is probably the identical copy described, as Mr. Cowper relates, in *The English Topographer* (1720), for that work was edited by Richard Rawlinson, LL.D., F.R.S., F.S.A. (1690-1755), grandson of Daniel Rawlinson of Grisedale and London, founder of the Anglo-Saxon professorship at Oxford, and donor of the collection to the Bodleian Library.

In the *Manchester City News* for October 26th, 1912, Mr. Hughes published a note pointing out, among other things, the special interest of one passage on the "curiously shaded, beauteously tufted" islands of Windermere as "probably the earliest picturesque description of the Lake District by more than one hundred years." His transcript of the volume has now been presented to this Society by Mr. Hughes, for preservation at Tullie House: but in handing it over I feel that a few extracts and remarks may be not out of place in these *Transactions.*

The volume was described in Worrall's *Bibliotheca Legum* as "Octavo, 2s." (Cowper's *Hawkshead*, p. 246). The page measures $5\frac{5}{8}$ by $3\frac{5}{8}$ inches, and there are 16

leaves (sigg. A and B). The Bodleian shelf-mark is "8° Rawl. 602."

The title-page reads as follows:—

THE | FATALL NVPTIALL: | OR, | MOURNEFULL | MARRIAGE, | Relating, | *The heavy and lamentable* | Accident lately occurring, by | the drowning of 47. persons, and | some of those of especiall quality, | in the water of Windermere, | in the NORTH. *October* 19: | 1635 | *Nova piscibus urna parata est.* | LONDON. | Imprinted by *Felix Kyngston*, and are | to be sold by *Robert Bostocke*, at the | Kings head in *Pauls* church- | yard. 1636.

Leaf A2 is headed with a cut of a winged death's-head and motto "SPES ADDIDIT ALAS" (*hope has given wings to death*). The preamble of 8 pages is in italics; the notes here placed at the foot of the page are in the margin. The text begins:—

A PREAMBLE, OR | INTRODUCTION | to this Funerall | POEME.

FOR the quality of griefe, none knowes it, but hee who hath experimentally and personally felt it. That Place, which hath hitherto beene secured from the least perill, you shall now see personated a spectacle of Sorrow: where those, who vowed in a Sacred and Christian manner, their vowes to Hymen, the Soveraigne of Nuptialls, are now with Tethis to close in wat'ry Funeralls. The occasion of these sad Obits proceeded from a marriage and a market day, which begot to the Attendants a mournefull night; yet from that Night (such was their assured expectance, and our undoubted affiance) a happy day. The place, where these drenched Soules were to take Boate, was that famous and renowned Mere of Windermere; a Mere no less eminent and generously knowne for her Sole-breeding, and peculiar kinde of fishes (commonly called Chares) as for those windy and labyrinthian mazes, with those curiously shaded, beauteously tufted, naturally fortifide, and impregnably seated Ilands in every part of the Mere interveined. To relate the severall windings of it, or more historically to describe it, were fruitles, being already explained by a genuine and learned

Relater.* To divert then from the Place, to the sad occasion of this Action, thus I proceed.

Windermere, or Winandermere, streaming, or rather staying in a continuate Tract or Channell, without any visible or apparent Current, and dividing the Counties of Westmerland and Lancashire, hath ever constantly kept a Boat for Passengers ; especially those Inhabitants as remaine or reside in the Barronry of Kendall, (a place to her honour, antiently famous for Commerce and industrious Manufacture) as all others, who may have occasion to addresse their course by that passage, to the market of Haukeside,† or other places adjoining. To this Boat, upon a nuptiall but fatall occasion, sundry Passengers, and these all Inhabitants within the Barronry of Kendall, (a Burrough as I formerly observed, highly eminent, by having such neare relation and generall correspondence with most places of trade or trafficke in this Kingdome) repaired ; hoping with a safe and secure gale to arrive, where no perill had ever yet approach'd. The Boat they enter'd, securely confident, with 47 in number, besides other carriages and horses, which (together with the roughnes of the water, and extremity of weather) occasioned this inevitable danger.

Lanch'd had these scarcely to the medth of the water, being scantly a mile broad, but the Boat, either through the pressure and weight which surcharg'd her, or some violent and impetuous windes and waves that surpriz'd her, with all her people, became drench'd in the depths.‡ No succour, no reliefe afforded, for Gods definite Will had so decreed : So as, not one person of all the number was saved : Amongst which, the Bride's Mother, and her Brother in this liquid regiment, equally perished.

The prose then continues in the strain of a funeral sermon, with quotations from Horace and Aristotle, Basil and Augustine, and concludes after eight pages with an apology for the length of this preamble. Then follows :—

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* Cambd[en], in Brit[annia].

† The Charter of which was procured by that industrious Agent for his Countrey, Mr. Allen Nicholson.

‡ Undæ sunt ossibus urnæ.

THE FATALL NVPTIALL:
OR, MOVRNEFVLL MARRIAGE.

Poeme.

HYmen, put out thy lights; thy selfe confound
With griefe, to see thy teare-swolne cōsorts drownd,
Thy late Attendants: See of forty seven
None rescued from death, but wholly driven
From hope, helpe, harbour! recollect it thus,
And joyne in mournefull Elegies with us.
Husbands of Wives, Wives of their Husbands reft,
Parents of Babes, Babes of their Parents left.
Heere Widdow's tears, and there poor Orphans cryes,
These fill the Cesterns of distilling eyes
With confluence of teares. What a sad Night
Hath damp't the beauty of a Nuptiall light
With universall sorrow?—Pray thee stay,
And sayle along with me in this same way,
This wat'ry Region, where the curled waves
Afford us teares, and to their bodies graves:
—See, see the leeking Vessell how it strives
And combats with the waves, to save their lives!
It sighs and seekes for Land, but press'd with weather,
And her surcharged burden both together,
While surging billowes mount above the brinke,
Shee's forc'd to yeeld, and with her fraught to sinke.
To sinke! O silence that perplexing word,
It will a Deluge of new griefe afford
To the relenting *Reader*, who with teares
Will rinse each comme and period that he heares:
And wooe th' inraged waves, and chide them too,
When he in milder tearmes shall cease to woo;
And in such home bred Dialect as this,
Taxe them and tell them, that they did amisse.
☞ O should you now see how Child clings on Mother,
Husband on Wife, Wife Husband, one on other,
Grasping the yeelding Streames, who in remorce
With wat'ry veils shroud their inchanneld coarse;
Should you conceit these Objects, you with me
Would cloze in one-united *Lachrymæ*.

O WINDERMERE, who art renown'd afarre
For thy sole-breeding there unvalued *Charre*,

And with thy spatious channell doest divide
Two antient Counties seated on each side;
☞ May thy fresh waters salt and brackish turne,
And in their chang'd condition henceforth mourne;
May these distilling conduits of thine,
Loosing their native sweetnesse flow with brine:
Tuning each accent of this accident
To Swanlike Odes of dying dreriment.
What did incense thee thus? what furious fate?
Tethis and *Hymen* were they at debate?
Did any impious one this shipwracke cause,
Some high Delinquent to Heav'ns sacred Lawes,
Whose deepe-dyde sinne did so the State infest
As it became a Scourge unto the rest
That were his haplesse *Consorts?* or some wretch,
Some hideous *Hagge*, or *late-reprived* Witch
Sprung from those desart Concaves, forlorne Cells,
Raising these stormes with their infernall Spells?
No; No; nor this, nor that, nor any these
Gave life to these expiring miseries.
It was that fixt decree, to which 'tis fit
That wee who are his Creatures should submit. . . .

But let me now divert my dolefull Scene,
And pencyle these who now have drowned bene,
In their owne native feature! "These were such
Who, to relieve their Meniey, labour'd much
In their industrious Wool-worke; justly fam'd,
And for their Manuall labour *Sheare-men* nam'd.
An usefull mystery! which though it make
Course cloaths, and such as ne're did *Alnage* take,
Yet 'tis commodious to the Common-weale,
And fit for Sale, although unfit for Seale.
For if th' poore work-man scarcely can supply
With late and earely toile his Family
Now when his Trading is exempt and freed,
In paying *Alnage* how should hee succeede?
But Heav'ns be blest for our dread Soveraigne,
Who cheeres with freedome such an honest gaine.

Most then of these wract Passengers were such
Whom never yet ambition did tutch,
Grinding oppression, griping avarice,

"Conscience their praise, and competence their prize.
Much comfort (sure) crowns such wheres'ere they dye,
Though drencht below, their thoughts are fixt on hye.

But amongst these, both *love* and *blood* doe urge
An higher strainc of passion for my* GEORGE.
Of pregnant ripe conceit, firme to his friends,
And ne're soak't Clients purse with endlesse ends;
Young, yet well-read in houres; fixing his love
On *Lawes* Divine and on the *Land* above.
Such dispositions make a good *Atturney*,
And wing his passage for an heav'nly journey:
Where he *this fee* may for his labour erne,
Peaceful Eternity without a *Terme*.
☞ A just weeke after, and same houre o'th day,
His Corpes was found, that hee was throwne away,
Untouch't and undisfigur'd; to imply
Mans face i'th *Depths* reteines a Majesty.

Next Him, those nursing fosters of my Three,
Three litle ones, whom they so carefullie
Tender'd, exact of me their funerall teares,
With such a Monument as *Vertue* reares
On her true-meaning followers: for to show
How their industriious Master and these two
Exprest their love and zeale to me and mine,
Would aske a lasting-living-loving-line:
And Gratitude keepes somewhat to requite;
"To *Him* my love, to *Them* my last good-night.
Yet recollect those latest words She said,
When shee that fatall vessell entered,
While thrice she lanched forward to the Maine,
Thrice she step'd in, and thrice retyr'd againe,
As one divining what would after fall,
With trickling teares thus on the Oares did call;

Oh stay thy Boat, secure me and my Mate!
"One may foresee, but not prevent their fate.
Next these, His losse, who at my Table fed,
And as one of mine owne, was sometimes bred,
I mone; One may their duty farre forgit,

---

* Mr. *George Wilson*, Atturney in the Common Law: one of pregnant conceit, and sincere in the course of his practise.

Yet God forbid, wee should not this remit,
As wee hope for remission : Hee is dead,
And with him my distasts are buried.
To waft him o're (no doubt) it did Heav'ns please,
From th' waters of *Contention* unto *Peace*.

For th' rest, I knew them onely by report,
Of honest fame though of obscurer sort.
And these with those I confidently trust
Are now enrowl'd ith' number of the just.

The poem then continues :—

Now to our selves let something be applide,

and proceeds accordingly. By the way, we find

And *Archie* that rich foole, when he least dreames,
For purchast lands, must be possest of streames :

written two years before Archie Armstrong's disgrace at Court and retirement to Arthuret. There is some labouring of the point in dramatic speeches attributed to a father, a mother, and a child in the face of death ; but the rather rough verse and commonplace thought are redeemed, to my mind, by touches of nature and imagination, and the poem ends, not without nobility :—

Draw in thy sailes, my *Muse :* and muse on *Him*,
Who free from staine, assoiles our soules from sin.
Who, when the *Waters* compasse us halfe dead,
The *Depths* enclose us, *weedes* enwrappe our head,*
When wee to th' bottome of the *mountaines* go,
And th' *Earth* with *barres* immures our bodies too ;
Yet from the *Pit* will *Hee* our *Spirits* raise,
To whom bee still the sacrifice of Praise.

A " Sonnet " or lyric of twenty lines finishes the book.

Now, beside the remarkable description of Windermere as beautiful scenery, to which Mr. Charles Hughes has

* Jonah, 2. 5 : 6 [original note].

drawn attention, I think it worth while to note the statement of Windermere's immunity until that catastrophe from "the least perill." It is in harmony with all we gather as to the peace of the inner dales of our district at a time when other parts of England, not far away, were by no means free from strife (see *Elizabethan Keswick*, Tract series, viii., pp. iv., v.). The antiquity of the Ferry is discussed by Mr. Cowper in his *Hawkshead* (p. 247), but there is apparently only one mention of it before this date. The denial of any witchcraft in the cause of the accident shows our author as rising above the common belief of his age. His sympathy with Kendal industries is noteworthy, and his mention of Windermere char is interesting, though at first sight puzzling. His phrases "sole-breeding, and peculiar kinde of fishes (commonly called chares)" and "renown'd afarre For thy sole-breeding there unvalued charre," I understand as "known for her unique production and peculiar kind of fish," and "renowned as the only breeding-place of char, not valued so highly at Windermere as elsewhere." He may have been mistaken* in supposing that Windermere was the sole place where char bred, for Sir Daniel Fleming, on February 19th, 1662-3, had "eleven dozen of charres from Conistone for four pies, 1s. 6d." (Hist. MSS. Com., xii., Rydal).

Another point on which he seems to differ from evidence already to hand is in the statement that none of 47 persons in the Great Boat escaped. The Grasmere parish register (quoted by Mr. Cowper, *Hawkshead*, p. 244) mentions "one that escaped." Our author, perhaps, rhetorically exaggerates the completeness of the catastrophe; but his testimony to the effect that not the married couple but the bride's mother and brother were drowned may correct the belief that the accident involved Thomas

* As Bishop Gibson points out that Camden was; see his edition of *Britannia*, 803.

Benson and Elizabeth Sawrey, married at Hawkshead October 15th, 1635, and buried at Bowness. The Grasmere list does not mention any couple named Benson; but it names "Gervis Strickland's wife, of Staveley," and "Rolland Strickland"; the Hawkshead register gives the wedding of William Sawrey and Thomasin Strickland on October 18th, 1635. It was their wedding, probably, from which some of the party were returning to Staveley "in the Barony of Kendal" with others from Hawkshead market, on a squally night, overloading the boat. Looking farther into Hawkshead register I find that a still-born child to William Sawrey was buried July 12th, 1636, and that Thomasin his wife was buried in the church, July 25th. On June 10th, 1638, William Sawrey married Hester Sands.

Though these gleanings of local history are not without value to those who are interested in the neighbourhood, this tract may have a higher place accorded to it if I am right in suggesting that it was written by the famous Richard Brathwaite, author of many works in prose and verse between 1611 and 1665. In this period he was living at Burneside Hall, and aged about 47, a reformed and chastened character. Much of the change in his tone of thought was owing to his wife's long illness, from consumption, and death on March 7th, 1633. His romping muse had been sobered, and for some time back his writings had been elegiac and religious, though as full of verbal quips and odd turns as before. His youngest child, John, was born February 19th, 1630; he and his sisters Alice and Agnes may have been the "three little ones" fostered by the worthy couple, as it seems, who were drowned at the Ferry. The Grasmere list names "John Beck, his wife, his son, and a servant maide, of Kendall," "John Pearson and his wife of Skelsmore" (Skelsmergh) "and George Baxter and his wife" as victims of the disaster. One or other pair may

have their anonymous epitaph in this poem, but the passage is not very lucid.

The inmate of the author's house, whom he had not liked, but regretted, can hardly be identified.

Mr. John F. Curwen kindly draws my attention to the entry in the Kendal *Boke off Recorde* (ed. R. S. Ferguson, p. 38), showing that a George Wilson was elected one of the 24 Assistants on April 18, 1633, and Chamberlain in 1634; but that he died and was replaced in 1635. This must surely be the George Wilson of the poem.

Some points in the printing of the book associate it with Richard Brathwaite. In 1630 he began to publish through Robert Bostock of the King's Head in St. Paul's churchyard, and in 1631 to have his books printed by Felix Kingston; in 1632 Kingston printed another book for him; in 1633 and 1634 two books of Brathwaite's and in 1635 two books more were printed by Kingston and sold by Bostock, and his third book in 1635, though printed by another, was published through Bostock. The *Nuptiall* must have been the next, and this, as the title shows, was printed by Felix Kyngston and sold by Robert Bostocke. Then, again, the hand in the margin, or "digit" as he called it, was a favourite mark of emphasis with Brathwaite, though in most cases the reason for its use is not obvious. It was perhaps some private allusion and personal fancy that suggested it to him, a whimsical writer. For example, in *Barnabee's Journal* it occurs on the mention of the man at Clapham (Yorks.) who invited him to a breakfast of one herring. In the *Nuptiall* it occurs thrice in Brathwaite's own style. His use of inverted commas at the beginning of a sentence, not always a quotation, without any close, is characteristic. His string of alliterative adjectives, joined by hyphens, as in

> Would aske a lasting-living-loving-line,

resembles lines in *Barnabee*:—

Jovial-jocund-jolly Bowlers (part i.).
Chast-choice-chary-merry wenches (part ii.).
Secret-sacred thirst of treasure (part iv.).

The adjective with hyphen in "sole-breeding," seen also in "The Soules sole-harbour" (in a part of the Introduction to the *Nuptiall* not here printed), is paralleled by "The Soule's Sole-love" in *Essaies on the Five Senses* (1635). "One-united" for "combined" gives another unusual, though different, employment of the hyphen. These peculiarities are not to be attributed to the printer, for they occur in books printed by different persons; they are Brathwaite's.

In matters of style there are many resemblances between Brathwaite's known works and the *Nuptiall*. Beside the more general similarities of rhythm, diction, spontaneity, oddity, false rhymes, and a show of learning in Greek and Latin quotations (there is one Greek marginal note in the *Nuptiall*), the eye for natural scenery here shown is matched, for example, by

Topcliffe from tops of cliffs first tooke her name,
And her cliffe-mounted seat confirms the same:
Where streames with curled windings overflowne
Bestow a native beauty on the towne.
(Barnabee, part iii).

Not to go too far into detail, we can compare "Ilands in every part of the Mere *interveined*" with "Every one of which subjects you shall finde *interveined* with choice variety of pleasing tales" (*Ar't asleepe, Husband?* 1640).

Two or three points relating to the matter of the text seem to me finally convincing. Speaking of Kendal in *Barnabee*, part iv., Brathwaite says:—

Now to *Kendall*, for cloth-making,

and adds a note:—

A Towne so highly renouned for her commodious cloathing, and industrious Trading, as her name is become famous in that kind. Camb[den] in Brit[annia].

This shows his knowledge of Camden, to whom also the *Nuptiall* refers for further account of Windermere; and it indicates, as many other passages of Brathwaite indicate, his interest in the Kendal woollen industries. In verses addressed "to my Country-Cottoneers" (*Essaies*, 1620) he bids them

> Droupe not, though dead, you may revive againe
> By th' cheerful beams of such a Soveraigne, etc.,

referring to hopes which at last were fulfilled through the charter of 11 Charles I. (1636)—a charter no doubt known to be in preparation when our author was writing the passage in the *Nuptiall* ending

> But Heav'ns be blest for our dread Soveraigne
> Who cheeres with freedome such an honest gaine.

The most conclusive of all such parallels is the note, gratuitously dragged into the *Nuptiall*, on Hawkshead, "the Charter of which was procured by that industrious Agent for his Countrey, Mr. Allen Nicholson." It is Brathwaite only who attributed the charter to him (Cowper's *Hawkshead*, p. 385) in *Remains after Death* (1618) in an epitaph

> Upon the late decease of his much-lamented friend and kinsman, Allen Nicholson, a zealous and industrious member both in Church and Commonweale.
>
> . . . And well may Hauxide grieue at thy Departure,
> Since shee receiv'd from thee her ancient charter.

If this reasoning be correct, we have to thank Mr. Charles Hughes not only for a rare tract of local interest, but for an unknown work by the first of the Lake poets, and one which, with all its drawbacks, has some literary value. Richard Brathwaite was a man of great talent and learning, if not a poet of the highest order. In the year following the publication of the *Nuptiall*, another

drowning accident happened. Another man, one of the Puritans whom Dapper Dick despised, wrote a poem upon it, curiously similar in some points of treatment, a product of the same Renaissance learning and the same literary movement, but touched with the strength of Milton and the music of *Lycidas ;* and it is no wonder that nothing more was heard of *The Fatall Nuptiall* except as a curiosity.

Art. XVI.—*The Seal of the Grammar School of Penrith.* By Francis Haswell, M.D.

In the muniment room at Lowther a paper receipt of some interest lately came to light through the energies of Mr. Ragg. It relates to the Grammar School of Penrith, and contains the only impression of its original seal which is known to be in existence, Jefferson (*Leath Ward*, p. 83) saying only that "the common seal is lost."

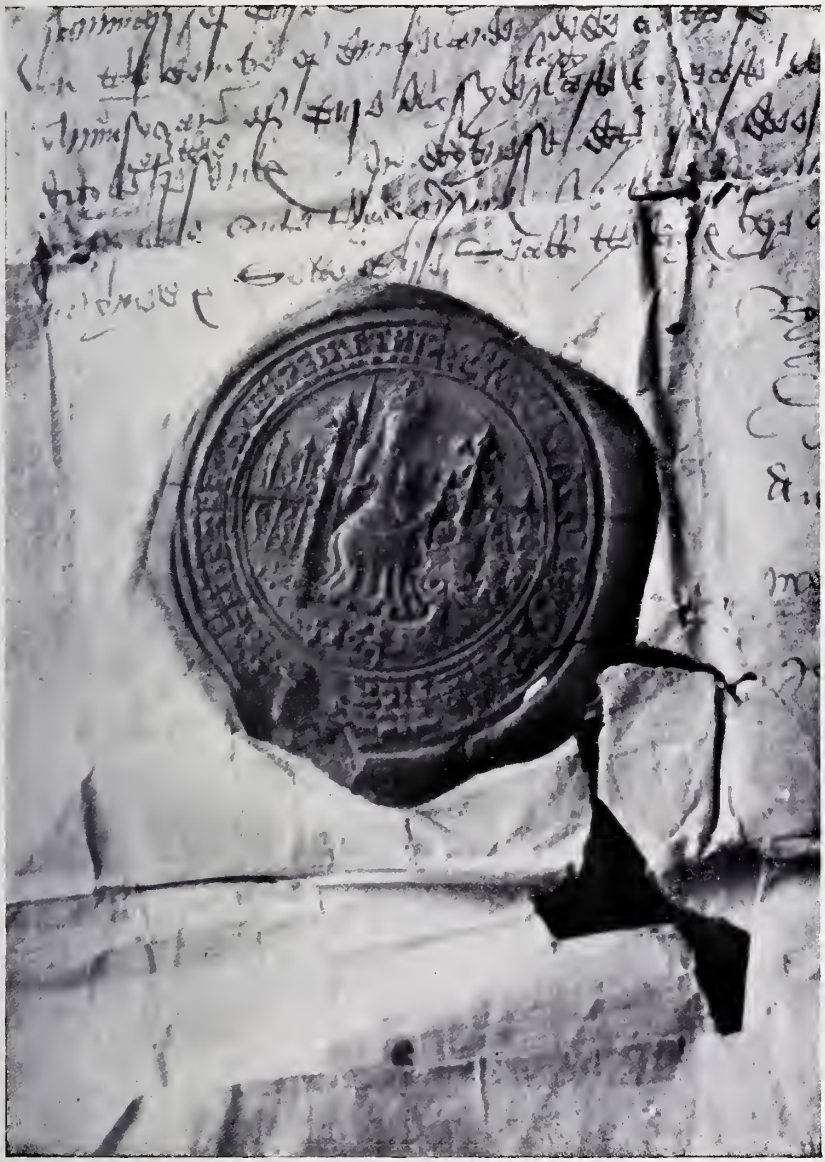
The text of the document is :—

Receauyde the xiijth day of August yn the syxte yere of the Reygne of Oure Souerayne Lady Quene Elizabethe &c AD 1564 of Rycherde Lowther of Lowther Esquyre by vs Rycherde Dudley Esquyre Thomas Carleton Anthony Hutton Nycolas Bost Jhon Whelpdall gentilmen govorners of the ffree grammar scole of oure Souerayne lady Quene Elizabeth yn Penreth in the Countie of Cumrelande dewe at the feaste of the Annusecan of oure blessyde lady last by past before the dayte of the presents ; In Witnesse whereof wee the seyde governers onto thyse p'sents haue therefor sette oure naymes & sette oure seall the day the abouesayde.

Rycherd Duddley
Thomas Carleton.
Antony Hotton
Nycholes Boist.
John Whelpdall.

The signatures are those of the original governors, all well-known Penrith names.

The seal shows Queen Elizabeth with a sword in the right hand and an orb in the left, sitting on a throne raised on stone steps and a sort of ornamental iron railing at the back, while several small children with raised hands kneel to her on the left. The date is



THE SEAL OF THE GRAMMAR SCHOOL OF PENRITH.

TO FACE P. 160.

apparently 1564, but the last figure is blurred from a bad impression.

When the inscription is attempted there is considerable difficulty. *Elizabeth in Penreth* is clear, and I venture to suggest the whole reading as SIGILLVM·COM· SCHOLÆ MATRIS R' ELIZABETH·IN : PENRETH.

It would be a happy solution for the provision of a seal for the new foundation of the Grammar School at Penrith if this old seal were adopted.

ART. XVII.—*S. Michael's, Addingham.* By the REV. T. W. STEPHENSON, Vicar.

Read at the Church, September 6th, 1912.

COMPARATIVELY little is known in regard to the fabric of this church. It would be in existence in the thirteenth century, since, in 1282, it is mentioned in the confirmation grant to the Priory of Carlisle, "cum Capella sua de Salkeld."

The List of Rectors and Vicars goes back to that year (1282), the earliest known rector being Eustachius de Trewik; see the Registers of Bp. Halton (Bp. of Carlisle, 1292-1325). Adam de Wygton, vicar, was buried in the churchyard in 1362.

The advowson of the church, formerly vested in the Lord of the Manor, was granted by Christiana, widow of Thomas Lascells, and at the time wife of "Robert Brus" the Competitor, to the Prior and Convent of St. Mary, Carlisle; and, as stated above, this grant was confirmed by Bishop Irton of Carlisle in 1282.

The "Capella de Salkeld" mentioned above, having been polluted, in 1360, by the shedding of blood, and the Parish Church being "at a great distance," the Vicar, Adam de Wygton, was allowed to officiate in his own house until the interdict was removed from the chapel; see the Register of Bishop Welton (Bishop of Carlisle, 1353-1363). This chapel (and probably also a village called Addingham) was situated on the east bank of the river Eden, and in all probability the present bed of the river covers the site of the ancient chapel. There are, near this supposed site, three fields which still bear the names Chapel-flatt, Kirk Meadow and Kirkbank. I am

told that within the recollection of the present generation the river has extended its course at this place some six feet or more on its eastern bank. Traces of masonry, lime, etc., have been seen; also pieces of cemented stonework have been observed in the bed of the river; and within the last 20 or 30 years teeth and bones, said to have been human, have been found. Some years ago an old inhabitant told me he (or his brother) had seen large flat stones with "foreign lettering" used for draining in the fields mentioned above.

To go back to the church: the bells are mentioned by Whitehead in these *Transactions* (o.s., ix., p. 475). The registers, much defaced and damaged by damp, go back to 1602. The church plate consists of a chalice, with a paten or chalice cover, each of which is dated 1612. There is also a larger paten, the gift of "C. Lumley"; the only mention of this name I have found in the registers is the entry of the burial of Mrs. Catherine Lumley, of Little Salkeld, on January 20th, 1714. This lady may have been the donor of the paten, especially as the Hall-mark is, I believe, of the reign of Queen Anne.

Unfortunately there is little reference in the parish books to either structural alterations or other so-called improvements in the fabric of the church.

In 1786 a vestry meeting was called to take into consideration whether the church porch "should be at the west end or remain where it now stands." The proposition to remove the porch was carried with one dissentient. In an engraving of the church published in *Leath Ward* in 1840, no porch is visible on the south side; it evidently therefore still remained at the west end. Traces of this porch are seen on the west wall. There is no record of the erection of the porch where it now stands.

In his book on "Great Salkeld, its Rectors and History," Canon Loftie says:—

On the chancel roof coping of Addingham there is cut the date 1786, plainly intimating that the gable between the nave and the chancel was raised at this time from the very low pitch of the ancient leaden roof, which can still be traced in the east wall. At this time, no doubt, the wide arch was inserted below to support it; the original arch, which would be much narrower, having been, as was the case at Gt. Salkeld some time before, altogether removed.

In confirmation of the above, a document exists, dated 1786, in which an agreement is entered into "to re-roof the church and erect a chancel arch for the sum of *four guineas.*"

In 1898, during the incumbency of the present vicar, £500 was spent on the fabric and interior fittings of the church: the chancel roof was re-built, the old flat white-washed ceilings in both chancel and nave were removed, and the present ceilings were erected. An ornamental chancel arch of plaster in imitation Norman style was removed, and the stone arch (presumably of 1786) was exposed and re-dressed. The organ, which formerly stood in the chancel, was removed to where it now stands, the north wall of the chancel being partly removed and the vestry roof raised for its accommodation.

At the south end of the north wall there are traces of a former doorway. Is there any foundation for the theory that such a door existed in close proximity to the font, in order that the evil spirit, driven forth from the newly baptized child, might thus find its way out of the sacred building?

Note on the early Cross-fragments at Addingham Church; by W. G. Collingwood.

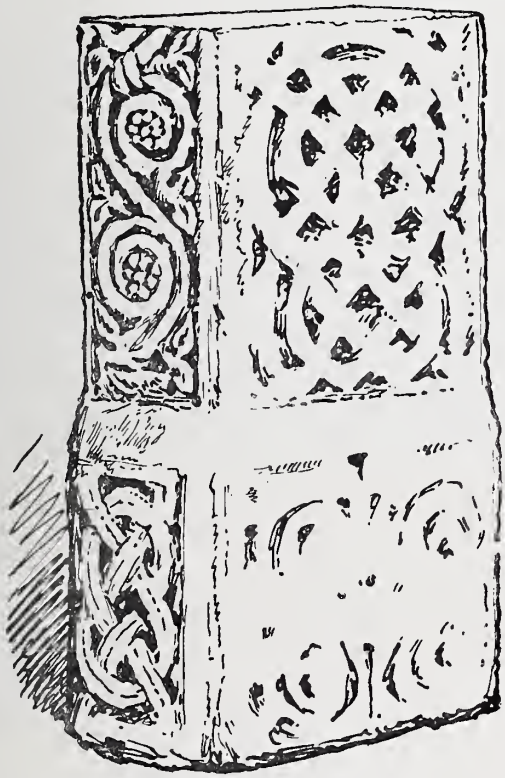
The two fragments now in the porch are the upper and lower parts of a fine cross-shaft, once a tall and beautifully executed work of the Anglian style, dating from the eighth century A.D.,

CROSS IN ADDINGHAM CHURCHYARD.

Phot. by W. L Fletcher.

TO FACE P. 165.

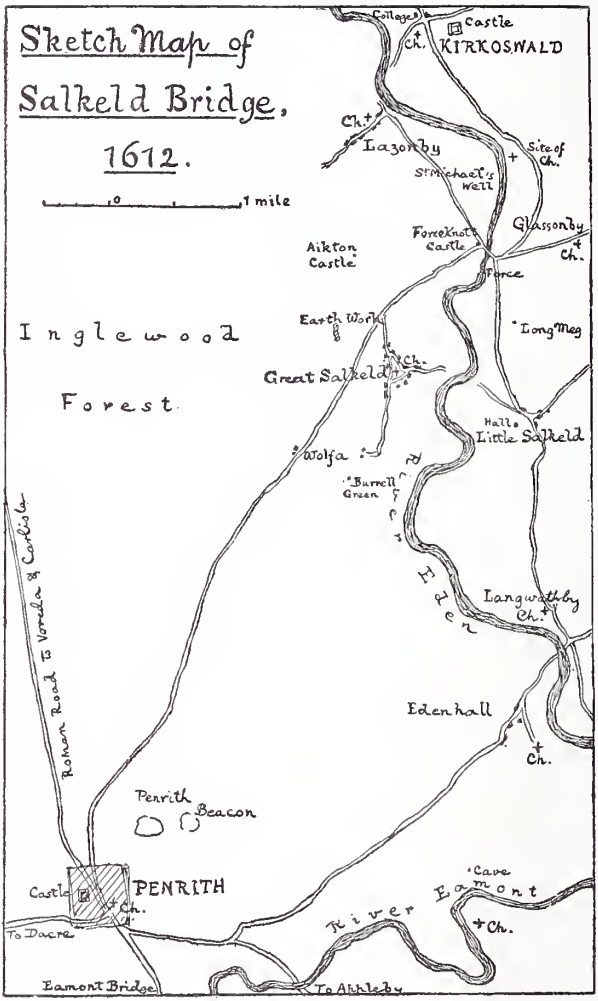
or at least early in the ninth. The cross-head now standing in the churchyard is of much later date. The greater part of its shaft is lost, and the clumsiness of its form is chiefly owing to the fact that it does not represent the original design in full.



LOWER PART OF ANGLIAN CROSS
IN ADDINGHAM CHURCH.

At the same time it is a work of the transition period, when the elegance of Anglian art was lost, and the vigour and picturesqueness of the Viking Age style had not been developed. The wheel, tentatively fitted to a late Anglian "hammer-head"; the meaningless spirals, into which the Anglian scrolls degenerated; the clumsy plaits (on the edges) and the irregular crosslet (on the back), apparently not intended as a *swastika*, all point to this transition age; and the date may be given provisionally

as the earlier part of the tenth century. It is obvious that the three-stepped socket-stone into which it has been fitted is not its original base, and that the monument as it stands is a comparatively modern reconstruction. The Rev. T. W. Stephenson has recently learnt from a parishioner of the age of 77 that her father's uncle, George Percival, who was parish clerk in the early years of last century, brought this cross-head from the river side, and set it up to mark the graves of his family. This lends some confirmation to the statement of Jefferson (*Leath Ward*, pp. 325, 332) that it was said to have come from the old chapel by the banks of the Eden. Jefferson also mentions that at the west end of the church there was "a gravestone ornamented with flowing lines or scrolls," perhaps one of the Anglian fragments now in the porch, though it is not known whence these came. Nor is the provenance known of the tenth-century shaft-fragment now in Carlisle Museum, which was formerly built into Mr. W. E. Rowley's house at Glassonby (these *Transactions*, N.S., i., p. 289). It is possible that all these fragments came from the old chapel by the Eden, which was perhaps the site of a religious foundation not very much younger than the Anglian monastery at Dacre, mentioned by Bede.


Sketch Map of
Salkeld Bridge,
1612.
0
1 mile
College
Castle
Ch.
KIRKOSWALD
Ch.
Lazonby
Site of Ch.
St Michael's Well
Glassonby
Ch.
Forcknott Castle
Aikton Castle
Force
Inglewood
Forest
Earth Work
Long Meg
Ch.
Great Salkeld
Hall
Little Salkeld
Wolfa
Burrell Green
River Eden
Langwathby
Ch.
Roman Road to Voreda & Carlisle
Edenhall
Ch.
Penrith Beacon
Castle
PENRITH
Ch.
Cave
Eamont
River
Ch.
To Dacre
Eamont Bridge
To Aithleby

ART. XVIII.—*Old Eden Bridges at Great Salkeld.* By the REV. C. J. GORDON, M.A.

Read at Penrith, September 5th, 1912.

THE ancient roadway leading from Dacre to Kirkoswald, and from Penrith to Alston and Newcastle-upon-Tyne,* appears to have been carried over the Eden from west to east below the Force at Salkeld by means of a high and narrow pack-horse bridge of stone; one of the very few such structures spanning the river southward of Carlisle in early times, two others being at Warwick and at Appleby.

There is perhaps no trace in England of pious establishments founded by Bridge Friars, such as existed in France and other European countries; but here also the work of constructing and maintaining roads and bridges acquired at one time a deeply religious character. In the early part of the fourteenth century the Registry of the Chancery at Durham contained frequent entries showing Indulgences granted by Bishop Richard Kellowe (1311-1318) to such as will draw from the treasure that God has given them valuable and charitable acts for the building or repair of certain bridges.† It was in accordance with such custom that in the year 1360, the bridge at Salkeld having been washed away by floods, Bishop Welton of Carlisle issued an Indulgence of forty days to all who should contribute to its repair. At the same time a monition was directed to rectors,

* See these *Transactions*, o.s., vol. ii., on "Translation of St. Cuthbert through Cumberland," by the Rev. T. Lees, M.A.

† Jusserand's "English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages," translated by L. T. Smith, 8th ed., published by Fisher Unwin. See also "The Vision of Piers Plowman"—circ. 1360—p. 122 of the version in "Everyman's Library," by Arthur Burrell.

vicars and chaplains in the diocese, to warn all having any sums of money in their hands for the purpose to pay the same forthwith to Roger de Salkeld or Richard Hunter, the receivers, under penalty of the greater excommunication.*

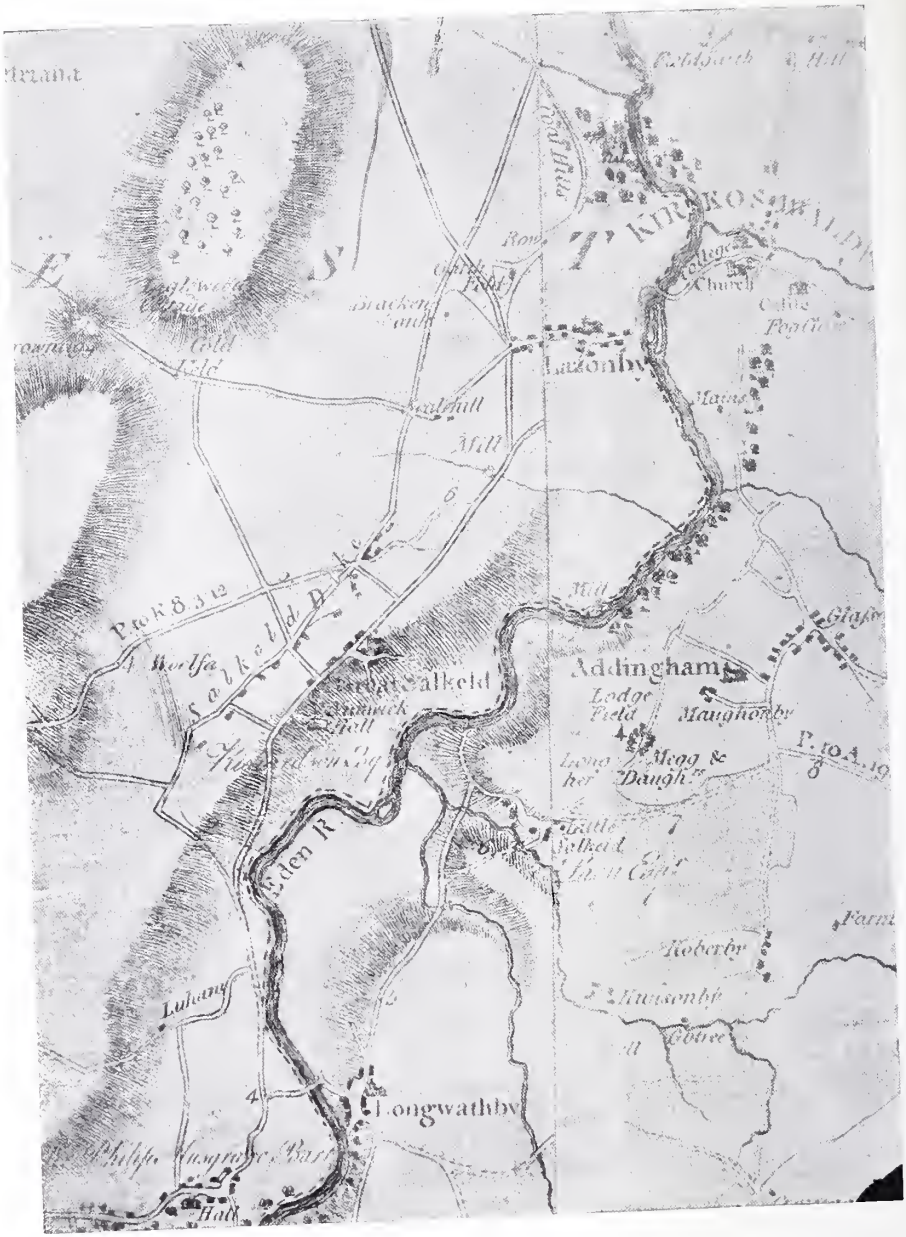
That the fallen bridge was soon afterwards rebuilt is evident from records in the "Testamenta Karleolensia" of bequests for repair of the fabric, including a benefaction of six shillings and eight pence from the aforesaid Roger himself. In these wills, proved at Rose at various dates between 1362 and 1380, mention is made of the bridge at Warcop, presumably over the Eden, as also of those over other streams in the district, at Kirkoswald, Temple Sowerby, Eamont and Lowther. A hundred and fifty years later we come upon indications that the structure had again been seriously damaged—perhaps destroyed. A very curious account was written by Richard Singleton, Rector of Melmerby in 1677 (vol. 6 of Machel's MSS. in the Dean and Chapter Library at Carlisle), in which it is described† how in one of the three lights of the east window of the old Parish Church of Melmerby

Hath been set up or painted in his gown and cassoke one Roland Threlkeld, yet to be seen entire from his middle to his feet, and his right arm is yet extant . . . Report tells us he was rector of Dufton, and vicar of Lazonby, as well as rector of Melmorby . . . Twas he that built a bridge at Fforce Mill for his own convenience to pass between Melmoreby (where he most resided) and Lazonby. He was not married, nor did he admitt any womane to manage about his house, but kept (as I have heard by some) a dozen men (by another) sixteen men to wait on him ; and for every man he usually kild a biefe at Martinmasse time. The pillar on which his bridge stood I have seen often.

---

* Jefferson's "History and Antiquities of Leath Ward" (1840), p. 261.

† Quoted by Jefferson, "Leath Ward," p. 306. This Roland Threlkeld was founder and first Provost (1523) of Kirkoswald—suppressed by King Henry VIII. in 1545.



EDEN BRIDGES, 1812,
from Donald's Map, 1771, corrected by Fryer to 1818.

TO FACE P. 171.

A statement so circumstantial leaves no room for doubt about the facts :—that the old bridge had gone, that a new one was erected about 1530, and that this also had been removed in course of time. It is related by Jefferson in his account of Addingham parish, that one Colonel Chomley bought Salkeld Hall from an impoverished owner during the Civil War. In September, 1644, the Royalist forces, under Sir Philip Musgrave and Sir Henry Fletcher, are known to have been defeated near Salkeld by the Scottish Army under General Leslie, then on his way from Newcastle to besiege Carlisle. The facts would appear to throw some light on the quaint and obscure sentence with which the narrative of Richard Singleton concludes. He wrote :—

Colonel Cholmley took the coat of its backe to his bridge, by ther . . . utmost stones from it; but the inside thereof is still standing, and will doe I think till dooms day.

Passing next over another period of a hundred years we come to a mention of a third or fourth bridge, built about the year 1770, either upon the same site as the former or very near to it. The following extract is from Hutchinson's History of Cumberland, published in 1794 :—*

There is a very picturesque view of the banks of the river at a place called the Force Mill . . . The western side is formed by lofty rocks, excavated and cut in niches, consisting of seats in a semicircular order for ten or twelve persons, like the stalls in an ancient cathedral. The river falls over a broken wear, or dam, or force by innumerable spouts in various directions. The opposite banks are rocky and overgrown with shrubs and trees, and in the stream is a column of masonry work, fifteen or sixteen feet in height. The whole channel of the river is rocky . . . The present bridge is placed at some distance from the force and is a singular composition of elliptic, semicircular and pointed arches one succeeding the other, perhaps being in part

* Vol. i., p. 282.

constructed out of the remains of the old bridge. It was built about twenty years ago, chiefly of an open red gritted stone which doth not promise to be durable.

The historian's premonition of another disaster would certainly appear to have been realised, though there is no record of the time and manner of the downfall. Colonel C. F. Sharp, whose father was Vicar of Addingham, has in his possession at Carlisle a water-colour drawing showing the condition of the ruin at the Force Mill in the year 1855, before the central portion of it had fallen over; and says that in his boyhood it was always called "the old Roman Bridge." Of this old mass of masonry, described within recent years as measuring twenty-four feet wide by sixteen high, large broken pieces may still be seen lying where they fell upon the rock foundation. There appears to be nothing to confirm the suggestion of Roman origin, but of Salkeld Bridge and of its successors we have certainly been able to catch some slight but life-like glimpses during the latter halves of the fourteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The fine bridge over the Eden at Langwathby was erected three miles to the south of it in the year 1686, and two miles away again in the opposite direction, a much less handsome and less convenient one was placed between Lazonby and Kirkoswald in 1762. Some say that there existed within living memory a wooden bridge over the Eden at Great Salkeld about a mile above the Force, at the spot where the Scottish raiders in old time made use of a ford. The ford is overlooked from the battlements of the fortified Church Tower,* which was built about 1390, within a generation after the time when the ancient bridge was overthrown. The tenant of the Mill Farm tells me of

* See these *Transactions*, vol. ii. (o.s.), Art. X., on "Fortified Churches in Cumberland," by J. A. Cory.

RUINS OF SALKELD BRIDGE, 1855.

TO FACE P. 172.

an old inhabitant, not long since passed away, who carted off from the higher ground above the river the last remains of the ruins of "Force Knott Castle," probably a stronghold established for protection of the bridge. The Corn Mill on this western bank is no longer used, and is falling into decay. On the other side there has stood for a generation past another Mill, that of the Long Meg Plaster Works. The Inn at Glassonby is still significantly called "The Pack Horse." Another at Great Salkeld—"The Highland Drove"—preserves the memory of peaceful traders who made use of bridge or ford long after the cessation of the border raids. But the old road is not carried over the Eden now. Cutting its direction almost at a right angle stands the strong stone viaduct of the Midland Railway from London to the North, spanning the broad eastward bend of the river before it turns again towards the Force; and it seems worth remarking how the modern engineers have found it desirable to effect their one crossing of the river in these parts at the same strategical point fixed on by their forerunners so long ago. We may be allowed to lament the contrast in appearance, and sincerely regret the cessation of attempts to restore a foot bridge and road way in a spot so suitable and so picturesque. Yet even Wordsworth, when in the neighbourhood about half a century before the change, writing with mild enthusiam of "Long Meg and her Daughters," of "Roman Antiquities at Old Penrith," and of the "Stately Eden and its floods," could then dream pensively of past and future, proffering cheerful justification to Time and Nature for inevitable intrusion of unsightly mechanical contrivances.*

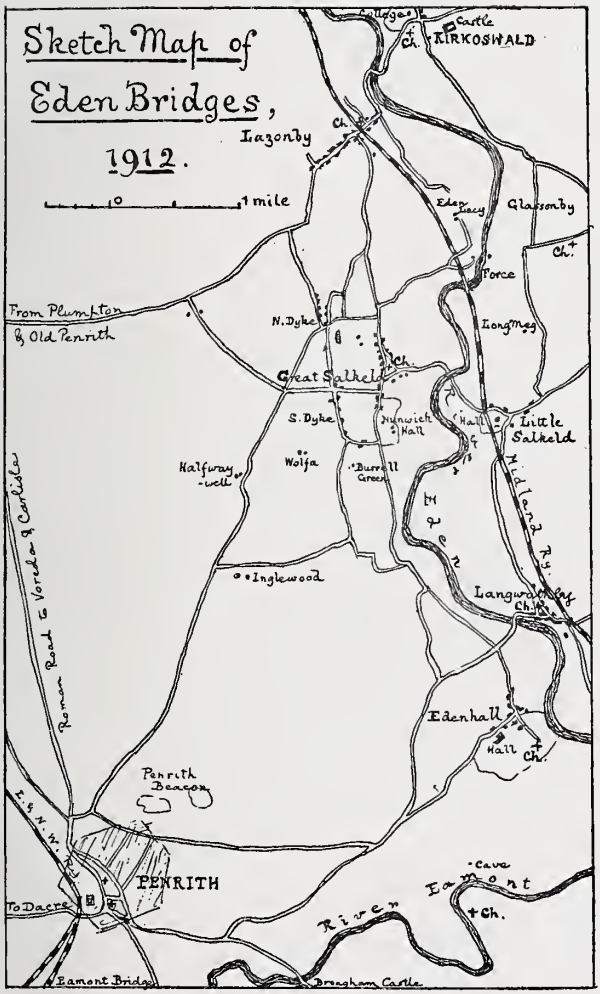
> What change shall happen next to Nunnery Dell?
> Canal, and Viaduct, and Railway, tell!

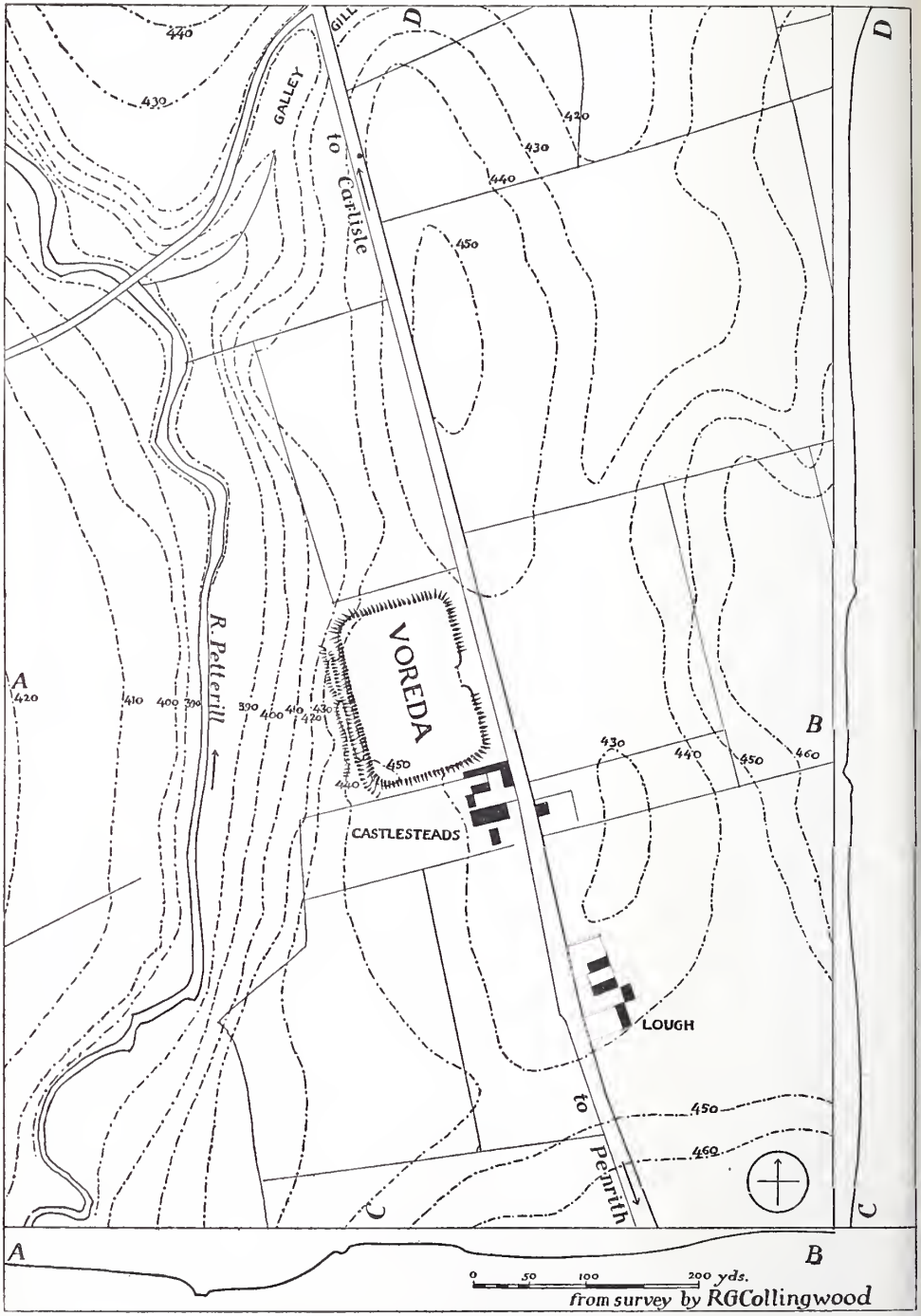
---

* Sonnets 25, 39 and 40, during Tours in 1831 and 1833.

In spite of all that beauty may disown
In your harsh features, Nature doth embrace
Her lawful offspring in Man's art; and Time,
Pleased with your triumphs o'er his brother Space,
Accepts from your bold hands the proffered crown
Of hope, and smiles on you with cheer sublime.

In compiling these notes I have been much indebted to the assistance of Dr. Barnes, Carlisle, who also provided photographic copies of the drawing belonging to Col. Sharp; and to Mr. T. H. B. Graham for a copy of a portion of Donald's Map of Cumberland, showing the roads and bridges as they were in 1771. To them, and to other members of our Society with more accurate knowledge of such matters than I am able to claim, what is here written is submitted for consideration and correction.


Sketch Map of
Eden Bridges,
1912.
0
1 mile
Hogas
Castle
Ch.
KIRKOSWALD
Ch.
Lazonby
Eden Lacy
Glassonby
Ch.
Force
From Plumpton
& Old Penrith
N. Dyke
Long Meg
Ch.
Great Salkeld
S. Dyke
Nunwick Hall
Hall
Little Salkeld
Halfway well
Wolfa
Burrell Green
Midland Ry
Eden
Inglewood
Langwathby
Ch.
Roman Road to Vorda & Carlisle
Edenhall
Hall
Ch.
Penrith Beacon
L. & N. W. Ry
PENRITH
To Dacre
Cave
Eamont
Ch.
River
Eamont Bridge
Brougham Castle.


GILL
GALLEY
to Carlisle
R. Petterill
VOREDA
CASTLESTEADS
LOUGH
to Penrith
A
B
C
D
0 50 100 200 yds.
from survey by RGCollingwood

TO FACE P. 177.

ART. XIX.—*Voreda, the Roman fort at Plumpton Wall.* By PROFESSOR F. HAVERFIELD, M.A., LL.D., V.-P. S.A., etc.

Partly read at the site, September 5th, 1912.

THE Roman fort of Old Penrith or Plumpton Wall, or, as it has also occasionally been called, Castlesteads, stands beside the modern high road from Carlisle to Penrith, about 13 miles south of the former, and 5 miles north of the latter, in the parish of Plumpton Wall. It has been known as a Roman site ever since the sixteenth century. Camden mentions it under the name of Old Penrith in his *Britannia* as early as 1586, and seems to have visited it in 1599. It then contained many traces of antiquity, including some inscriptions which he copied.* The next material references to it belong to the early years of the eighteenth century; Horsley then visited it, and included in his book a detailed description of what he saw, while some correspondents of Roger Gale, Horsley, Patten and Goodman, make other allusions to it about the same time.† Later writers frequently mention it, and chance finds, including inscriptions, have not been uncommon, especially outside the fort.‡ Both the fort, however, and its immediate surroundings seem to have been long under grass, and

* Camden, ed. 1586, p. 455; 1600, p. 701.

† Horsley, pp. 111 (plan), 272-5. The letters to Gale are published in Stukeley's *Diaries* (Surtees Society, 1883), ii. 68 foll., and in Hutchinson, i. 348.

‡ Besides the writers mentioned in other footnotes see Burton's *Antoninus* (1658), 118; Gale's *Antoninus* (1709), pp. 37, 40; Gough's *Additions to Camden* (1806), iii. 443; *Gentlemen's Magazine* 1790, ii. 982, 1092; 1818, ii. 367; *Brayley and Britton* (1802), iii. 171; Whellan (1860), p. 576; these *Transactions*, O.S. XV. 46, and N.S. ix. 311. Nicolson and Burn add practically nothing.

of late years few discoveries have been recorded, save one curious altar found about a hundred yards north of the fort in 1908.*

The site has never been excavated with an archæological purpose, though the east gate was cleared and planned in 1811-2. It has, however, been freely robbed by modern men searching for stone. Thus West, in his Guide to the Lakes, issued in 1778, remarks that at that time parts of the walls were removed to provide field dykes.† A little later Lysons records that the east wall was pulled down in 1811-2, when buildings were being put up on Castlesteads Farm,‡ and a local land surveyor of the time, Jos. Bell, adds that in the same year the south and west walls were also cleared out and the south gate laid bare.§ Roman stones, including a small letterless altar of white sandstone, can now be seen in the dwelling-house walls at Castlesteads, but in general the houses near the fort do not contain much recognisable Roman stonework.

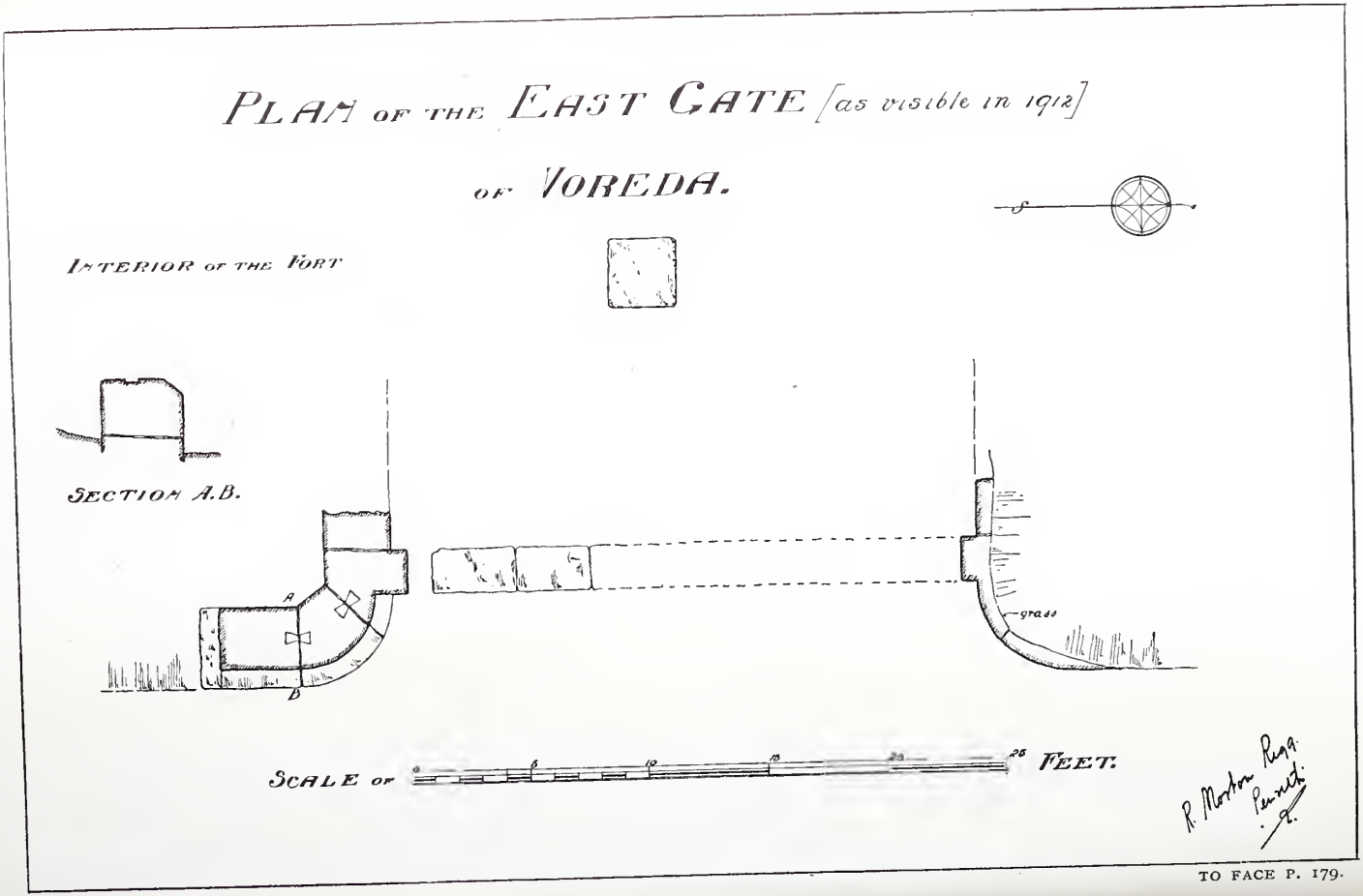
The position of the fort had much tactical strength. On the west the ground falls sharply away to the river Petterill; on the east the slope is also steep, and though the north and south approaches are nearly level, the Galley Gill forms a small but veritable gorge scarcely 300 yards distant to the north. The outlook is wide all round, except to the south; to the west the whole range of the Lake hills lies in full view. As a whole, the site is well chosen; it is far stronger, for instance, than the nearest Roman fort to it, beneath the walls of Brougham Castle. Strategically, the importance of the position depends on its connection with the Roman road which leads from the south to Carlisle. This road, coming

* See altar No. 10, below.

† West's *Guide to Lakes* (1778), p. 149; these *Transactions*, o.s. xv. 46.

‡ Lysons' *Cumberland*, p. cxliii, footnote; these *Transactions*, o.s. xv. 46.

§ These *Transactions*, o.s., xv. 46; *Archaeologia Aeliana*, first series, vol. i. Donations, p. 2 (drawings of east gate, etc.).


PLAN OF THE EAST GATE [as visible in 1912]
OF VOREDA.
INTERIOR OF THE FORT
SECTION A.B.
A
B
grass
SCALE OF
0
5
10
15
20
25
FEET.
R. Morton Rigg.
Penrith.

TO FACE P. 179.

from Brougham, passes along the ridge between the Petterill and the Eden, close to the east bank of the former river. Its general course is represented by the modern highway from Penrith to Carlisle, which skirts the east face of the fort. But the discovery of various constructions underneath the modern metalling—for example, a well uncovered in 1817*—shows that the modern road does not here follow precisely the ancient line.

Various structural remains testify to the character of the fort. The grass-grown rampart and ditch are still visible all round it, enclosing an oblong area of about 330 by 500 feet, a trifle over three acres. The east gate has long lain open to view (see plan). It arrests attention by its massive sandstone blocks, with their shapely bevels and the dowel holes for metal clamps, as well as by its somewhat unusual form. When first noticed in the eighteenth century, it was supposed, as Hutchinson tells us,† to have been flanked by circular turrets, but it seems that the rounded parts of the masonry formed only quarter-circles, and that the gateway was in reality slightly recessed, like the south gate at Haltwhistle Burn and various other Roman gates of various dates. The position of the west gate is also clear, though it has not been actually laid bare, and the north and south gates, if less discernible to-day, were both visible in Horsley's time; the south gate indeed was found in 1811 with iron hinges and burnt wood lying within it.‡ Of the internal buildings we know nothing definite. Horsley mentions a "praetorium" near the north rampart, seemingly in the north-east corner, but its real nature is quite uncertain, and in general we can say only that the whole fort was pretty certainly filled with stone

* Jefferson, *History of Leath Ward* (1840), p. 463.
† Hutchinson, i. 348.
‡ These *Transactions*, o.s. xv. 47.

structures, like most of the Roman *castella* in northern England. Outside the ramparts, buildings have been noticed in several directions, particularly on the west towards the river, where indeed faint indications can still be traced on the surface. Whellan adds that an "arched chamber or passage" was found outside the south-east corner of the fort in the early nineteenth century, and that in the same period "extensive remains" were removed from the field east of the fort.*

Smaller finds have been fairly common, at least as far as inscriptions are concerned, as the appended lists will shew. Altars are represented by ten more or less perfectly inscribed pieces, five uninscribed pieces bearing reliefs of deities, and four others. Of tombstones eight have been recorded. Among architectural remains we have several capitals of columns, including one capital carved elaborately with acanthus leaves and human heads, and a slab decorated with vine branches and grape clusters. Few coins have been properly recorded, the earliest being of Faustina (middle second century), and the latest of Licinius, Maximin, and Constantius (early third century). A few bits of Samian and other pottery, a bronze fibula, and two or three trifles complete the lists. Here, as usual, little care has been taken of finds, and it goes without saying that we know next to nothing of the associations in which most of the objects found at Plumpton Wall have come to light.

Though our knowledge of the fort is thus scanty, we can tell its character. Plainly it was one of those castella garrisoned by "auxiliary" regiments, generally either 500 or 1,000 strong, which guarded the main roads and the important strategic points in northern Britain, as in other frontier provinces. Of these forts Hardknott is perhaps the best known to Cumbrians; that guarded

* Whellan, *History of Cumberland* (Pontefract, 1860) p. 576.

the mountain road from the west coast to the fort at Ambleside. Plumpton Wall similarly guarded the yet more important road from the south to Carlisle and to the western part of the Roman Wall. Its garrison appears from three or four inscriptions to have been the Cohors II Gallorum Equitata; the size of the fort shows that this must have been what was technically called a Cohors Quingenaria, that is, a cohort of 480 men, while the epithet Equitata shows that of the 480 men 360 were infantry and 120 were cavalry. This combination of horse and foot in the same unit is to be distinguished from the modern use of mounted infantry, and has few parallels in modern armies. But it had obvious advantages in a military post like Plumpton Wall, where it was equally necessary to hold the fort firmly, to keep the road open, and, on occasion, to scour the neighbourhood and cut off casual raiders. Of the Cohort itself, nothing seems to be known for certain, save that it was in Britain at least as early as A.D. 146, and that it was in garrison here, probably for many years, though the only attested date is A.D. 244-249 (inscription No. 2). It may perhaps be identical with a "Cohors II Gallorum" which was in Moesia, on the Lower Danube, down to about A.D. 120, and may have been moved to Britain by Hadrian. Cichorius, however, declares this "impossible."* We have, in any case, no trace of any other corps in garrison here. The Germans mentioned in inscriptions No. 15 and 26 may have served in the Cohort of Gauls, since Roman recruiting was far less territorial than the titles of many of the regiments would suggest. The vexillations apparently mentioned in inscriptions Nos. 6 and 11 may be legionaries present for special purposes.

If, borrowing details from other and better known

* Pauly-Wissowa, iv. 289.

examples of Roman forts, we were to try to reconstruct the fort of Plumpton Wall as it was during most of the Roman empire—let us say, in the second and third centuries, to which some of our surviving inscriptions belong —we should have before us an oblong area of three acres, girt with a broad and deep ditch and a wall of stone, and filled with military offices, barracks, stabling, sufficient for 500 men and officers and somewhat more than 120 horses. Outside the ramparts would doubtless be other buildings of less official character. There was presumably, as at other forts, a Bath-house, serving possibly for a "club," and a "public-house." There were two or three shrines to Roman, or Celtic, or even German deities, such as the strange Unseni Fersomari to whom Burcanius and Vagdavercustus and other Germans set up a slab (inscription No. 10). There were, thirdly, some dwelling-houses for the wives of the soldiers and others whom one reason or another led to live on the spot. One such, perhaps, is the nameless veteran of the Ala Petriana, native of Xanten on the lower Rhine, who seems to have settled here after his discharge from active work (see inscription No. 13).

When the fort was established, and how long it was held, we cannot tell for certain. Agricola, however, was holding Carlisle about A.D. 80, and he doubtless built the road which runs past Plumpton Wall; very likely he added the fort itself, though perhaps in smaller size than its ruins now show it. From his day the occupation seems to have lasted till some date in the fourth century which we cannot yet fix. Still less do we know how long the Cohors II Gallorum remained its garrison, except that an inscription to be noted below (No. 2) shews its presence there in A.D. 244-9.

The Roman, or rather, the Roman-Celtic name of the fort was Voreda. That is proved by the sequences of names in the Itinerary, which notes the forts along the

Roman road from Carlisle into Yorkshire, and gives the distances between them. We can be fairly sure—in fact, no one now seriously doubts—that Plumpton Wall is Voreda, Brougham Castle is Brocavum, Kirkby Thore is Braboniacum (also spelt Brovonacae), Brough is Verterae, and so forth. We may then dismiss the vagaries of early writers, headed by Camden, who called this fort Petriana. They were misled by an ill-understood inscription of a soldier in the Ala Petriana, and were also caught by the seeming likeness between the names Petriana and Penrith, which was then, and indeed for some time later, both spelt and pronounced Perith. Such inadequate reasons influenced far too many of the early identifications of Roman place-names in Britain, which have had to be abandoned as archæological knowledge has widened.

A.—INSCRIPTIONS.

NOTE.—In the following list Nos. 1–12 are dedications to gods or emperors or records of building, Nos. 13–21 are sepulchral, Nos. 21–26 miscellaneous items. In the texts, round brackets denote expansions of abbreviations: letters enclosed in square brackets are letters no longer on the stones but probably parts of the inscriptions when originally cut. "C." refers to the seventh volume of the "Corpus" of Roman inscriptions, which deals with Britain; "Eph." to supplements to that volume by the late Prof. Huebner and myself in the "Ephemeris Epigraphica"; "LS." denotes the Lapidarium.

(1) C. 314=LS. 938. Found at Plumpton a little before 1771, for a while in the possession of Capt. Dalston (died 1816), now lost: a small altar,

DEO SANCTO BELATUCA(DRO) ARAM.

"To the holy god Belatucader, an altar."

[Preserved in the MS. Minutes of the Soc. Antiq. 5 Dec. 1771, and in Gough's copy of Horsley in the Bodleian (Gough, Gen. Top., 128, fo. 58 c.). Published by Pegge, *Arch.* iii., 104, and Gough, *Adds. Camden*, iii. (1786), 190=iii. (1806), 444. There is some doubt whether the stone had on it BELATVCA or BELTVCA; the former seems the better attested.]

(2) **C.** 315=**LS.** 789. Noticed about 1730 in an old wall, now lost :

I O M ET G(ENIO) D(OMINORUM) N(OSTRORUM) PHILIPPORU[M] AUG(USTORUM) COH. [II] GALLO-[RUM. . .

"To Iuppiter optimus maximus and the genius of the emperors Philip, set up by the Second Cohort of Gauls . . ." (about A.D. 244-249).

[Published by Horsley from a friend's copy, p. 275 and pref. xx. ; compare his letters printed in Stukeley's *Diaries*, i. 269 ; ii. 74. Hence all later writers, with various small errors.]

(3) **C.** 316=**LS.** 939. Found a little before 1771, for a while in possession of Capt. Dalston, now lost :

IN H(ONOREM) D(OMUS) D(IVINAE), I O M D(OLI-CHENO) [AEDEM ?] VETUSTATE CO[NLAPSAM] AURELIUS AT[TIANUS PRAEF. C]OH. II [GALLO-RUM RESTITUIT.

"In honour of the Imperial house, to Iuppiter optimus maximus Dolichenus, a temple (?), collapsed through length of time, is restored by Aurelius At[tianus ?] praefect (?) of the Second Cohort of Gauls . . ."

[Preserved in the Soc. Antiq. Minutes, 5 Dec. 1771, and Gough's papers with C. 314. First published in CIL.]

(4) **C.** 317=**LS.** 718. First noticed by Horsley about 1728 in an old wall, afterwards (in 1771) in possession of Capt. Dalston, now lost :

"I O M COH(ORS) II GAL(LORUM) EQ(UITATA), T. DOMTIUS HERON, D(OMO) NICOMEDIA, PRAEF(EC-TUS)."

"To Iuppiter optimus maximus, set up by the Second Cohort of Gauls under T. Domtius (that is, Domitius) Heron, born at Nicomedia (in Asia Minor)."

[Copied by Horsley, p. 275 ; compare letters in Stukeley's *Diaries*, ii., 72 foll. Gough, in his copy of Horsley (Bodl. library, Gen. Top., 128, fo. 58) notes that it was shewn to the Soc. Antiq.

in 1771 with 314, 316, and reads DOMITVS; see the Soc. Antiq. MS. minutes, 5 Dec. 1771. Richard Pococke saw the stone at Lough farm in 1750: he read I DOMITVS (Mus. Brit. MS. add. 15800 fo. 36*b*, Pococke's *Travels* (ed. Camden Soc. 1888), i. 34). Otherwise all later writers depend on Horsley.]

(5) **C.** 318=**LS.** 790. Found in 1783 "in an enclosed spot 20 by 9 yards," apparently within the fort and near the east wall; about 1790 it was sent to Hutton's museum at Keswick; afterwards it was in the City museum at Manchester; now (since 1868) it is in the British Museum, where I have seen it.

DEO MARTI BELATUCADRO ET NUMINIB(US) AUG-(USTORUM), IULIUS AUGUSTALIS, ACTOR IUL(I) LUPI PRAEF(ECTI).

"To the god Mars Belatucader and the deities of the Emperors, set up by Iulius Augustalis, agent of Iulius Lupus, praefect" (of the garrison, presumably the Second Cohort of Gauls). Which Emperors are meant, is quite uncertain.

[Rooke, *Arch.*, ix., 220, with plate; *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1790, ii., 982, 1092; Gough, *Arch.*, x., 118, from Joh. Matthews (MS. note in Bibl. Bodl., Gough, Gen. Top., 141); Hutchinson, i., 487, with cut; all other writers seem to depend on these. See also *Manchester Guardian*, 12th October, 1906, for the history of the altar. When submitted to the Soc. Antiq. in 1784, it was held a forgery, but it is clearly genuine.]

(6) **C.** 319=**LS.** 797. Found at Lough, just outside the fort to the south-east, on 28th July, 1728, bought by Dean Fleming, who passed at the moment of its discovery, and set up by him in his garden at Great Salkeld; now lost:

DEABUS MATRIBUS TRAMARINIS ET N(UMINI) IMP. ALEXANDRI AUG. ET IUL(IAE) MAMMEAE MATR-(IS) AUG(USTI) N(OSTRI) ET CASTRORUM, TOTI-[QUE] DOMUI DIVINE AE[ORUM] . . . IATIO MR . . .

"To the Mother Goddesses across the sea, and to the deity of the Emperor Alexander (A.D. 222-235) and of Iulia Mammea, mother of the emperor and of the army, and to their whole Imperial house, erected by the . . ."

Soldiers probably set this up—*iatio* being part of the word *vexillatio*. The men were perhaps recruited in Germany or north-eastern Gaul, where the Matres were especially worshipped. Hence they describe them as "goddesses from across the sea." The *ae* after *divine* is perhaps the first letter of *eorum*, spelt *aeorum*.

[Horsley, p. 274, 351; compare the letters of Goodman and Patten to R. Gale, printed by Hutchinson, i., 485-6, and in Stukeley's *Diaries*, ii., 68-73. All later writers depend on Horsley.]

(7) C. 320=LS. 792. Found at the same place as No. 6, C. 319, built into a house-wall there, now lost, a small altar:

DEO MOGTI.

"To the God Mogtis?" Possibly misread for *Mogonti*; there seems to have been a Celtic god Mogon.

[Horsley, p. 275; compare the letters to Gale from Goodman and Patten referred to for C. 319. All later writers depend on Horsley.]

(8) C. 321=LS. 791. Found before 1815, now at St. John's College, Cambridge; seen by Huebner and myself. Small altar, broken:

DEO MOUNTI [PR]O SALUTE . . . STIUS . . .

"To the god Mountis ?, for his own preservation, set up by . . . stius . . ."

An altar dedicated *dis mountibus* was found at the Roman fort of High Rochester. Plainly we have to do with Celtic deities who may be connected with Mogon, like Mogti in C. 320.

[Lysons,* *Cumberland*, p. cliv., n. 54, with fig.]

(9) C. 322=LS. 803. Found before 1815, later in the Crosthwaite Museum, Keswick, now in the British Museum. Fragment, 7½ by 15 inches, from the centre of an imperial dedication.

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* Not the Bp. of Cloyne (Wm. Bennet), as Bruce says. The same correction is to be made in LS. 799 (No. 12 below).

For another altar, dedicated to Silvanus, which I heard of too late to insert in its place after No. 8, see the postscript.

. . . TRIBUNI]C. POTES[TATE . . . CO]S IIII P(ATER) P(ATRIAE), P[RO PI]ETATE AC DEVOT-[IONE . . .

"In honour of the emperor . . . who had held the tribunician power for . . . years, had been consul 4 times, was 'pater patriae'; erected by . . . in accordance with his loyalty and devotion to his ruler . . ."

The emperor may be Caracalla, compare Whitley Castle, C. 310, 311.

[Lysons, *Cumberland*, p. clviii., no. 93 (with a misreference to C. 352). The completion of the fragment seems certain, though it was missed by Huebner and Bruce.]

(**10**) Eph. ix. 1124. Found in 1908 about 100 yards north of the fort, now at Brackenburgh Tower, where I have seen it. Altar 58 inches high, much worn at the bottom:

OMNIBUS DIBUS UNSENIS FERSOMARIS, BURCANIUS, ARCAVIUS, VAGDAVARCUSTUS, POV . . . IARUS VETERA[NI? PR]O SALUTE SUA ET SUORUM V.S.L.M.

"To all the gods Unseni Fersomari, set up by Burcanius, Arcavius, Vagdavarcustus, Pov . . . iarus, veterans (?), for the safety of themselves and of their families."

Although Unseni Fersomari looks remarkably like a forgery (as if "unseen and fearsome"), the stone seems quite genuine, and the names must be those of otherwise unknown German gods; for "Fersomari" compare the "matronae Fernovineae" of a German inscription (CIL. xiii. 7890). The dedicators are also German; Burcanius seems akin to the ancient name of Borkum, Burchanis, and Vagdavarcustus to that of the German goddess Vagdavercustis. The word *veterani* is not certain.

[Haverfield, these *Transactions*, N.S. xi. (1911), p. 470, and *Eph. epigr.* ix. The text in *British Archæol. Association Journal*, 1908, p. 142, is faulty. I regret that the lettering is too faint to allow of a good half-tone illustration.]

(**11**) Eph. ix. 1126. Fragment found about 1690 and copied by Nicolson, now lost. The recorded letters

. . . UGVEX
X . . . VIC
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

which suggest

[NUM(INIBUS) A]UG(USTORUM) VEX(ILLATIO) [LEG.] X[X VAL.] VIC. . . ., or the like.

[Edited from Nicolson's *Diaries* by R. S. Ferguson, these *Transactions*, o.s. xii. 161, PSAL. xiii. 266, PSAN. v. 16; hence Haverfield, *Arch. Journ.* xlix, 195.]

(12) **C.** 324=**LS.** 799. Found long ago; once in Hutton's Museum at Keswick, now lost. Apparently the lower part of a stone recording building by the Second Cohort of Gauls, which garrisoned the fort:

. . . COHORS] II GAL . . . AMPI SUB CALVISIO RU . . . CURANTE AURELIO . . .

"erected by the Second cohort of Gauls, under Calvisius Ru . . . , the work supervised by Aurelius . . ."

Whether Calvisius Ru . . . was praefect of the Cohort or a higher official, is unknown. But the usual style of Romano-British inscriptions would lead us to expect that the governor of the province would be named here. A Calvisius Ruso was governor of the province of Asia about A.D. 85, and the same or his son was governor of Cappadocia twenty years later. This Calvisius Ru . . . may belong to the same family.

[First published by Lysons, *Cumberland*, pp. clviii. clxxx. on whom all later writers depend.]

(13) **C.** 323=**LS.** 794. Found at Plumpton Wall before 1600, seen there (as it seems) by Camden in 1599 or 1600; lost before Horsley visited the site (1725-1730). The lower part of a soldier's tombstone:

. . . ACADUNO, ULP(IA) TRAI(ANA), EM(ERITUS) AL(AE) PETR(IANAE). MARTIUS F(ILIUS) P(ONENDUM) C(URAVIT).

"In memory of . . . born at Ulpia Traiana, discharged from the Ala Petriana. Set up by his son Martius."

Camden's copy is apparently incorrect in some details, and my rendering is in part conjectural. The first word, *acaduno* (which may also be *agaduno*), must represent part of the soldier's name; then comes his birthplace, Ulpia Traiana, and then his former regiment, the Ala Petriana. Ulpia Traiana is not Sarmizegethusa, as is often stated, but a "colonia" planted by Trajan close to the legionary fortress of Vetera on the lower Rhine, now Xanten. The "ala Augusta Gallorum Petriana" is known by inscriptions to have served in North Britain, and its station appears to have been called Petrianae after it. Unfortunately the site of Petrianae is uncertain; possibly it was at Old Carlisle. There is no reason to accept Camden's idea that the corps was stationed at Plumpton Wall.

[Camden, ed. 1600, p. 702; a perhaps more accurate copy sent by Camden is printed by Gruter, p. 572 (3); Horsley, p. 272. Later works all depend on Camden.]

(14) **C.** 325=**LS.** 796. Found at Plumpton Wall before 1600; seen there (as it would appear) by Camden in 1599 or 1600; lost before Horsley visited the site (1725-1730):

D. M. FL. MARTIO SEN(IORI) IN C(IVITATE) CARVETIORUM QUESTORIO, VIXIT AN(NOS) XXXV. MARTIOLA FILIA ET HERES PONEN(DUM) CURAVIT.

"To the memory of Flavius Martius the elder, who served as quaestor in the community of the Carvetii, aged 35. Erected by his daughter and heir Martiola."

The Carvetii are otherwise unknown. They would seem to have been some local tribelet or district in Britain; their name appears to be Celtic: its first syllable is probably akin to the Latin *cervus* stag. The epithet *quaestorius* would naturally mean "one who had been quaestor": the latter title, which, under the Roman Empire, denoted many and various officials, is perhaps here applied to the local magistrate of the Carvetii.

[Camden, ed. 1600, p. 702; Horsley, p. 272. All later writers depend on Camden.]

(15) **C.** 326=**LS.** 802. Found at Plumpton Wall before 1600; seen there by Camden in 1599 or 1600 and by a German traveller, perhaps one Reichel of Silesia, about 1602-4,* who gave Camden

* On this German see my notes in these *Transactions*, N.S. xi. (1911), 371, 372.

a copy which still survives in a British Museum manuscript. The stone has not been seen since Camden's day. Camden's text reads :

D. M. CROTILO GERMANUS VIX(IT) ANIS XXVI, GRECA VIX. ANIS IIII, VINDICIANUS FRA(TER) TITULUM POS(UIT).

" To the memory of Crotilo, a German, aged 26, and Greca aged 4. Erected by his (or their) brother Vindicianus."

Crotilo (if that be his name) was probably a German soldier, of whom there were many in the Roman army of north Britain.

[Camden, ed. 1600, p. 702. For the German's text see Mus. Brit. MS., Cotton Iulius F. VI. fo. 322 (olim 305) : he omits the letters *D M C* at the beginning, *annis xxvi.* in the middle, and *Vindicianus* in the last line. Probably the stone had got broken between Camden's visit and his ; it is also possible that Camden supplied the missing letters very freely. All later writers depend on Camden.]

(16) **C.** 327=**LS.** 800. Found at Plumpton Wall a little before 1586 ; seen there by Camden in 1599 or 1600 and in 1602-3 by a German traveller (see No. 15) ; lost before Horsley's time :

D. M. AICETUOS MATER VIXIT A(NNOS) XXXXV ET LATTIO FILIA VIX. A. XII, LIMISIUS CONIU(GI) ET FILIAE PIENTISSI(MIS) POSUIT.

" To the memory of Aicetuos, mother, aged 45, and to Lattio, daughter, aged 12, set up by Limisius to his loving wife and daughter."

The relationships are somewhat strangely expressed ; the above seems the only arrangement of them. A woman aged 45 could hardly have a grandchild aged 12.

The personal names are also puzzling : Lattio seems to be Celtic, but Aicetuos and Limisius (or Limistus) are disowned by German and Celtic scholars alike.

[Camden published a very inaccurate copy in 1586, p. 636 (CIL. VII. No. 8*), and fairly correct ones in 1600, p. 702 and 1607, p. 637 ; a good copy by a German traveller of A.D. 1602-3 is preserved in Camden's papers in the British Museum, MS. Cotton Iulius, F. VI , fo. 305-322. (A copy sent by Camden to Gruter is plainly incorrect.) Only two variants in these copies are of

TOMBSTONE OF M. COCCEIUS NONNUS
(at Lowther Castle).

Phot. by C. Fearnsides.

TO FACE P. 190.

TOMBSTONE OF HYLAS
(at Lowther Castle).

Phot. by C. Fearnsides. TO FACE P. 191.

importance; Camden has LATIO (or LATTIO) FIL., the German LATTIO FILIA, while the German read LIMISTUS for Camden's LIMISIUS. All later writers depend on these; some (Hutchinson, i., 477, 479, etc.) convert Camden's text of 1586 and that of 1600 into two distinct inscriptions.]

(17) **C.** 328=**LS.** 795. Found in September, 1828, 200 yards north of the fort and to the east of the present high-road, lying face downwards: some pieces of stone with Roman letters and some urns were near. Sepulchral monument, 88 inches high, 36 inches wide; above is an erect draped figure with a whip (?) and a palm branch (?), intended to represent the deceased; below is the inscription:

DIS MANIB(US) M. COCCEI NONNI, ANNOR(UM) VI, HIC SITUS EST.

"To the memory of Marcus Cocceius Nonnus, aged 6; he lies here."

The inscription may well be an early one, not later than the end of the first century The formula *hic situs est* and two tall I's (in the lettering of DIs and HIc) both imply an early date.

[See a letter of Chr. Hodgson, 12th October, 1828, in *Arch. Aeliana*, old series, ii. (1832), 265. Now at Lowther Castle, where I have seen it. The cut in the "Lapidarium" is inaccurate: Huebner oddly omits the M before Coccei.]

(18) **C.** 328*a*=**LS.** 801. Found at Plumpton Wall; the circumstances of the find are not recorded. Tombstone, 43 inches tall, 17 inches wide, much damaged, perhaps incomplete at the end: the text seems to be:

D.M. HYLAE ALUMNI KARISSIMI, VIXI[T A]N. XIII, CL. SEVERUS TRIB. MILIT . . .

"To the memory of Hylas, his dear foster-child, aged 13, Claudius Severus, tribune (in a legion) set this up."

[Now at Lowther Castle, where I have seen it. My reading differs somewhat from those of Bruce and Hübner, but is, I think, fairly certain.]

(19) **C.** 1344=**LS.** 798. Found near Plumpton Wall about 1860, circumstances not recorded. Oblong slab, 27 inches long, 8 inches high.

D.M. AURELIUS VIXIT ANNIS XI, AVO PATE (*sic*) PIENTISSIMUS TAM SIBI QUAM ET FILIO SUO POSUIT.

"To the memory of Aurelius, aged 11. His affectionate father, Avo, set this grave-stone for both himself and his son."

Pate seems a mere error for *pater*. Avo is the father's name; it occurs elsewhere, though rarely. It cannot be, as Dr. Bruce thought, the ablative of *avus*, "grandfather."

[Copied by Dr. Bruce for Hübner. It is now at Low Grounds, a farm near the fort to the north. I am indebted to Dr. F. Haswell for verifying the text.]

(**20**) Eph. ix. 1125. Fragment found before 1688, once at Lazonby, now lost:

. . . VOMAI
VIXIIA . . .
A . AIIII
AXII . . .
. . . . . .

In line 2 the words *vixit a(nnos)* are clear: all else is uncertain.

[Pocket-book of Bp. Nicolson for 1688, who copied it there. Hence R. S. Ferguson, these *Transactions*, o.s. xii. 60, and *Proc. Soc. Antiq. London*, xiii. 266: see *Arch. Jour.* xlix. 195.]

(**21**) Eph. ix. 1126. Fragment found and recorded and lost with the preceding. It bore the letters:

D M

and was the beginning of a sepulchral inscription.

(**22**) **C.** 329 (not in **LS.**). Fragment said to have been found "upon Penrith Fell near to old Penrith," 16 inches long, now lost. It bore the letters:

AVENTIN (T and I tied).

Part plainly of the name Aventinus.

[Hutchinson, *Cumberland*, i. 490 (plate, fig. 12).]

(23) C. 330 (not in LS.). Fragment found at Plumpton Wall before 1730, now lost:

TORINO.

Part of the name Victorinus.

[Letter of R. Patten to R. Gale, see Stukeley's *Diaries*, ii. 76; MS. note by Gough in his copy of Horsley (p. 275) in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.]

(24) Found inside the fort about 1701 and then copied by Wm. Nicolson, afterwards Bishop of Carlisle; never seen since:

IMP(ERATOR) CA[E]S. M. PIA[V]ONIUS VICTORINUS PIUS FE[LIX . . .

"The emperor M. Piavonius Victorinus, Pious, Fortunate . . ."

Victorinus reigned A.D. 265-267. This stone is either a milestone or roadstone, or an honorary inscription. As it was found inside the fort, perhaps it might seem rather to be the latter.

[Recorded by Nicolson in his pocket-book for 1701 and in other papers (MS. English History, b. 2, fo. 235, and MS. Ashmole 1816, fo. 515-517, in the Bodleian). Hence published by R. S. Ferguson, these *Transactions*, o.s. xii. 62, and by myself *Arch. Journ.* xlix. 196, 232 and *Eph.* ix. 1254.]

(25) Two more items require notice. Bruce in his *Lapidarium* (No. 804) and Hübner, following him, in the *Corpus Inscriptionum* (C. vii. No. 846 and p. 310), ascribe to Plumpton Wall a fragment bearing the letters:

VEXI	*vexillatio*
LEGXX	*leg. xxii*
PRIMIG	*primigeniae*

This is now walled into the garden of Abbotsford, and is locally supposed to have been brought thither in the time of Sir Walter Scott who resided there from 1812 till his death. With it are five sculptured stones which come from Plumpton Wall (see No. 27). Hence it has been thought that the inscribed fragment also came from Plumpton Wall, and Dr. Bruce, about 1870, found persons yet living in Plumpton "able to bear testimony that the stone was found in the station, was built up, for a while,

into a neighbouring cottage, and was finally sent by carrier to Abbotsford." This sounds conclusive. But it, nevertheless, appears to be erroneous. In 1797 the stone was in Callander House, near Falkirk, and was then affirmed to have been found in the neighbourhood, on the Wall of Pius (Jas. Wilson's account of Falkirk in Sir John Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland*, xix. (1797), 110).

(**26**) It is necessary to add a similar note about an altar dedicated DEO MAPONO by various Germans, which was noticed about 1755 at Nunnery near Kirkoswald, four miles east of Plumpton Wall. This was assigned by Lysons and Bruce to Plumpton Wall (see Pegge, *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1755, pp. 392, 438; Lysons' *Cumberland*, p. clxxiii.; LS. 793). But it was really found near Brampton, that is, at or near the fort of Castlesteads, about or before 1688. This is attested by a letter of W. Nicolson, later Bishop of Carlisle, dated June 5th, 1693, which is preserved in the Bodleian Library (MS. Ashmole 1816, fo. 466. See CIL. vii. 332, LS. 793, and Eph. Epigr. ix. p. 566).

B.—SCULPTURES.

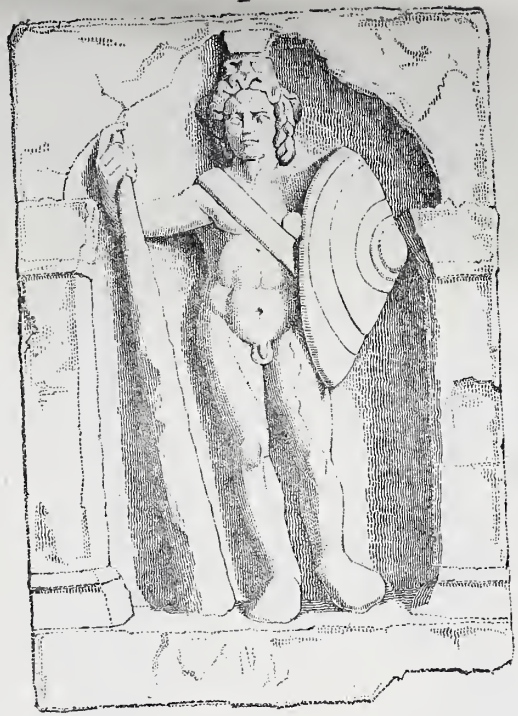
(**27**) In the autumn of 1813, five "altars" were found at Plumpton Wall, each 24 inches high; in front of each is a niche containing the full-length figure of a Roman deity; the deities are Juppiter with thunderbolt and spear, Apollo with wand or whip (as Sun god), Mercury with purse, *caduceus* and winged cap, Mars with shield and spear (almost a club), and Venus with mirror and shawl round one leg. The exact significance of the quintette is not clear. That they represented days of the week and are part only of the full set, as was suggested by M. Roach Smith, is not especially probable. See Lysons' *Cumberland*, p. clxxxviii. with plate; Bruce, LS. 805, repeating Lysons' plate; these *Transactions*, o.s. xv. 46. Later on, these five stones were sent to Abbotsford, where Sir Walter Scott was residing, where they still are, built into a garden wall in front of the house, and where I have seen them. They have, unfortunately, been patched.

(**28**) Stone seen by Horsley about 1728, then built into the wall of a house. Ornamented with a carving of branches, leaves and grape clusters (Horsley, fig. LIV.); now lost.

1

VENUS.

2



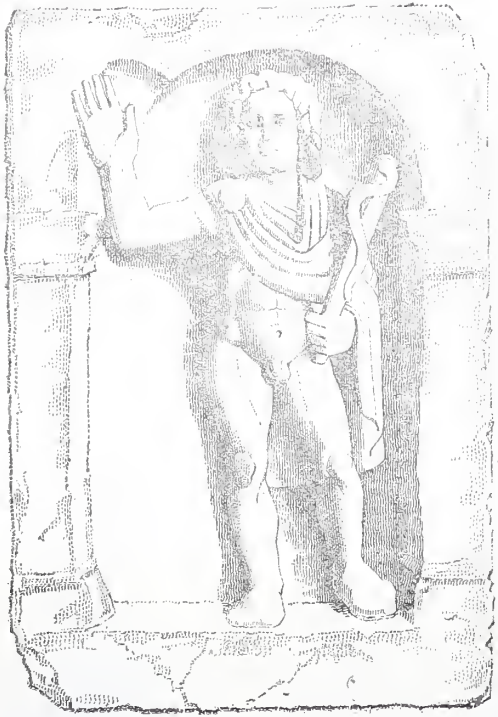
MARS.

Stones at Abbotsford from Plumpton Wall.
(from Lysons, *Cumberland*).

3

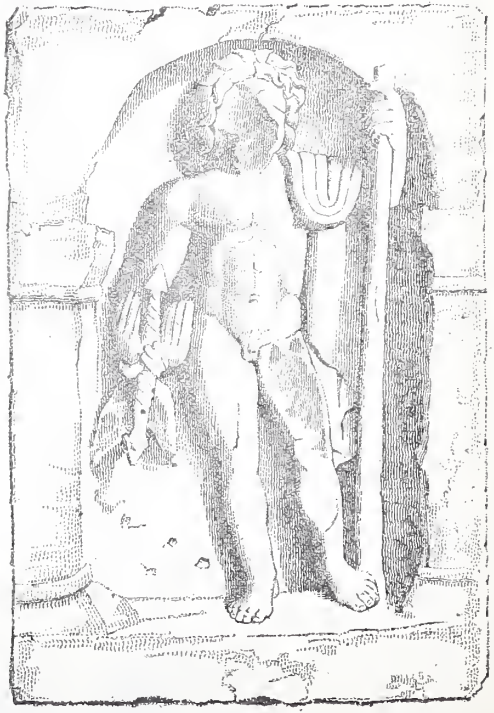
MERCURY.

4



APOLLO.

5



JUPPITER.

Stones at Abbotsford from Plumpton Wall.

(from Lysons, *Cumberland*).

(29) "Capital of a column ornamented with human busts and acanthus leaves," found about 1800 about 100 yards outside the east wall of the fort. Similar decorated capitals are not unknown in Roman art, as for example at Cirencester and in the Baths of Caracalla at Rome.

[Lysons, *Cumberland*, p. clxxxix.; now lost.]

(30) Four altars may also be mentioned here. They are either uninscribed or illegible. One, mentioned by Patten writing to Gale, January 30th, 1731 (Stukeley's *Diaries*, ii. 72), was 55 inches high with a "cornucopiae" on one side; it was split up in three pieces and used in a cowshed. Another was seen by Horsley in the pavement in front of the Plumpton Wall Public House (Horsley, p. 275). A third, with a curious hole in it, now in Great Salkeld Church, is said to have been used for a piscina (these *Transactions*, o.s. xi. (1892), p. 62). A fourth is now in the west wall of Castlesteads dwelling-house.

(31) Hutchinson (i., p. 490) mentions and figures a column with base and capital and a circular shaft 4½ feet long, found "in a large cairn" to the west of the fort.

C.—COINS.

Singularly few coins have been definitely recorded. Patten told Gale of a Denarius with the reverse "three Roman soldiers leading an elephant" (Stukeley's *Diaries*, ii., 76). Another writer of the same time mentions a coin of "Faustina" found "at Penrith," but its genuineness has been doubted. (*Ibid.*, i., 458.) Jefferson, in his *History of Leath Ward* (1840, p. 463), records that, in the removal of the east wall in 1811, silver coins were found of Faustina, Severus, Geta, Caracalla and Maximin, and copper of Geta, Licinius, and Constantius. Lastly, a writer in the *Gentleman's Magazine* (1818, ii., 367) notes a coin of the younger Faustina. The Mawson collection, which I saw in 1899, contained some coins from a hoard of the third century (36 Tetricus, 13 Victorinus, 2 Postumus) found at Scratchmere Scar, near Plumpton; these, however, can hardly be connected with the fort.

D.—OTHER SMALL OBJECTS.

Of these we have even less satisfactory record. Hutchinson mentions Samian—one piece with an illegible stamp—as found in the "cairn" west of the fort, which yielded the column mentioned above (i. 480, plate p. 348). Some pottery was also found in 1907 (these *Transactions*, N.S. ix. 311). Other reputed finds are either not Roman or are misdescribed beyond understanding. The two "battle-axes" (*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1818, ii. 367), the "crescent of copper" found about 1728, 9 feet deep, in front of the Bush Inn, and some other similar items are worth notice only by way of warning. The gold fibula figured by Lysons, p. clxxxviii. is post-Roman; Sir Hercules Read tells me that it is unquestionably fourteenth or fifteenth century work.

POSTSCRIPT.

(**32**) Eph. ix. 1379, found at Plumpton some years ago, now thanks to the exertions of Dr. F. Haswell) preserved in Penrith Museum. Part of a small, very rudely lettered altar

SACTO SILVANO . . . . "To the holy God,
Silvanus . . . . "

Similar rude little dedications to Silvanus are not uncommon in the north of Britain. One example, of unknown origin but probably found somewhere near Carlisle, is now at Tullie House (catalogue No. 3 fig. 1).

PART OF A DEDICATION TO SILVANUS, FROM VOREDA
(in Penrith Museum).

Phot. by C. Fearnsides.

TO FACE P. 198.

ART. XX.—*The Earlier Owners of Edenhall.* By the REV. FREDERICK W. RAGG, M.A., F.R.Hist.S.

IN 1362, on Wednesday, June 22nd, an Inquisition was held at Penrith after the death of William de Stapelton to certify to the king what lands he held in chief. The jury gave, as part of their verdict, a short history of the descent of the manor, and with this part it is convenient to begin. They state that a certain King Henry, progenitor of the reigning king (Edward III.), gave the manor of Edenhale to Peter de Brus to be held by him and his heirs, in fee, of the king and his heirs, by the service of half a knight's fee, which was to be all the service due. By hereditary descent, they said, Robert de Brus afterwards held the manor of the lord Henry, the great-grandfather of the reigning king, by the same service, and Adam Turpe acquired (*i.e.*, purchased) the manor of the said Robert de Brus by licence of the king to be held in fee by the same service. And next, Robert de Turpe, Adam's son and heir, held it, and after the death of this Robert, his daughters, Johanna and Juliana, were his heirs, and Juliana had been married to William de Stapelton and had died before her husband, who, by the "courtesy of England," held, till he died, the half of the manor which was hers, and William de Stapelton their son, aged 26, was the heir. The remainder of the verdict will be dealt with later on: the first point is this summary of the previous history of the manor.

The jurors were giving their verdict very nearly 100 years after the death of the king in whose time Robert de Brus lived, of whom Adam de Turpe acquired the manor. At least we shall see that the acquisition was

not later than the time of Henry III. They give as the succession from that time, a not impossible though short series of owners, who were de Turpes, Adam, Robert and Robert's daughters, the younger being the mother of William de Stapelton, who was 26 years old. But previous records suggest that though true in the main this is not quite accurate in particulars.

Three Inquisitions previous to this of 1362 are amongst the Records in the Public Record Office, taken concerning de Turpes of Edenhall:—One after the death of the mother of Johanna and Juliana, held in 1328; one after the death of Robert her husband, but taken on complaint of his widow for a reason which will appear hereafter, in 1314; and one taken after the death of an earlier Robert, undated; the writ ordering it is mutilated and its date gone. It belongs, however, to the time of Henry III., and must have taken place in 1252 (36 Henry III.), for there is an entry in the Fine Roll of that year stating that Robert de Dacre gave the king three gold marks (£18) to have the custody of the lands and heir of Robert de Turp till he should be of age, and the right of having him married. The Pipe Rolls after their wont go on giving the name of Robert de Turp as owing his 20s. for the yearly service from the manor till, at any rate, 1260.* But the grave made no difference to the Exchequer Accounts,—only the payment of the debt. With some intervals the name of Robert de Turpe is given as paying the dues, and these entries go back to 1229-30. But in 1222-3 we come to the name of Robert de Brus entered as discharging them. This is the earliest existing Pipe Roll of Henry III. The last existing roll of John, of the year 1215, gives Robert de Tup of Edenhall, which is but Tu'p with the sign for r omitted. In one of the intervals wherein

* See F. H. M. Parker's *Pipe Rolls of Cumberland and Westmorland.*

the Pipe Rolls of Henry III. do not give the name de Turp nor mention Edenhall comes the year 1250-1, when William de Lancaster and Thomas, son of John, were collectors of an Aid for the king in Cumberland. Their return exists in the Record Office (Exchequer K.R. Miscellaneous Books, No. 6, vol. i., p. 693); and in this Robert de Turpe is entered as holding half a fee in Edenhall, and there is nothing stated to prevent us from supposing him to be tenant in chief. In fact, all through that reign, from 1260 backwards except in the two instances in which the name de Brus is given, as well as in King John's last Pipe Roll, if a name occurs it is de Turp. But in the Red Book of the Exchequer, which shows, it is thought, a summary of the returns made by Inquest of the Sheriffs in 1212, Adam de Carlun holds the half fee in Edenhall which was (part) of the fee of Peter de Brus; while the sheriff of Cumberland, in his own return for that year, still existing in the Record Office (Exchequer K.R. Knights' fees 1/9 m. 2), says that Robert de Brus holds Edenhall of the king by the service of half a knight's fee, and that King Henry gave the aforesaid land to Peter de Brus, his predecessor by the said service.

A payment for half a knight's fee, either as service or as scutage, is traceable in King John's Pipe Rolls, though Edenhall is not mentioned, nor is the amount of the fee in every instance, backwards from 1209 to 1196. There is enough to satisfy one that it is the same fee, and the service and scutage are given by William de Brus. In 1195 the series stops, and we find the name of Robert Brus, who is stated to be the father of William. But the entries concerning him are about a charter and a debt connected with it to Aaron the Jew. Beyond 1192 his name does not occur. Examining these Rolls back from 1215 to 1209, we find in 1214 that the half fee of Edenhall was held by Adam de Carduil and was

part of the fee of Robert de Brus. In 1212 it is the same Adam de Carliolo who holds it, and in neither of these cases does the entry give a distinct impression that Adam paid the scutage, whereas the entry of 1215 almost implies that Robert de Turp paid. Looking back again, from 1212 to 1209, we find nothing. And further back than that, as we have seen, the payments for a half fee are made by William de Brus. The de Carliol payments and the de Brus payments for a half fee do not overlap. But the de Carliol name occurs more than once in almost every roll as we go back. In 1212 Adam himself pays 60 marks for an amercement. Reginald, his son, gets in three years through a debt of 40 marks that he may have as wife Milisent, widow of Odard, son of Adam. Adam is found in 1207, and in 1206 also, owing for money received from Gilbert fitz Reinfred. In 1205 Adam de Carduil owes and pays for his bailiwick in Eaton (Hayton), and in 1204 likewise and 1202. In 1201, besides paying his dues from Eaton, he is seen as Adam, son of Robert de Carduil, and pays 5 marks to have a plot of land there which extends from his house alongside of the Cemetery of St. Alban; and has the plot granted on condition that he makes a way of access to the cemetery. In 1200, again, he is found paying for his bailiwick of Eaton, as also in 1199 ("Eton" here). In 1198 he pays for Eton and for a charter connected with a debt to Aaron the Jew. He had borrowed from Aaron, it would seem, the exact amount which he owed to the Exchequer. In 1197 he is Adam, son of Robert de Carliol, and pays for the same things, and also in 1196, 1195, 1194, and 1193, but the bailiwick is in these years Eiton. Then these entries cease. But oddly enough stray entries of de Turb begin. In 1194 and 1193 Reginald de Turb is to pay for selling wine contrary to the Assize; importation and merchandize surely; Cumberland could hardly have a vintage. But if merchandize, Reginald

would belong to a town, and to hardly another than Carlisle. In 1185 Robert de Turb is amerced for a false claim. In 1168 the men (*i.e.*, tenants) of Peter de Turb are amerced, which also looks like an entry connected with a town. These earlier de Turps have no connection with Edenhall, but in a charter given by Robert de Brus, who died about 1194, to St. Nicholas of York, the name of the witness following that of Euphemia his wife is Peter de Turp. This de Brus was lord of Annandale. The de Carduil or de Carliol names, Adam, Robert and Reginald, remind one of the de Turp names, which, except Peter, are the same, and it is just possible to conjecture, but to leave it simply as conjecture, that this de Carduil family were in reality de Turps, and that that branch was known by the name de Carduil for two or three generations much as two or three generations of de Culwen were known as de Wirkington.

To go from these to Edenhall itself, there is on record an earlier owner still. From 1160 to 1172 it and Langwathby are entered together as held in one under the king by Henry, son of Swain, to whom Henry II. had granted them, and during those years, the payment due to the Exchequer for them both was the large sum of £10. After 1172 there was a separation, for Langwathby goes on alone, which looks as though Henry Swain's son left no descendants.

All these small details may be uninteresting enough in themselves; what they lead up to has some interest.

The elder stem of the de Brus family, that of Skelton, shows, after the time of Henry I., no Robert. The succession is two Adams and then four Peters till nearly the end of the reign of Henry III., when the last died and left his sisters to inherit. Yet not only the Inquisition of 1362 but two earlier records, as we have seen, state that Edenhall was of the fee of Peter de Brus, and three earlier records are in agreement with the verdict of that

Inquisition that Robert de Brus possessed it, though only the Inquisition states, "by hereditary descent"; and yet that there was hereditary descent in the matter might be concluded by the Pipe Roll entries. William, in these Rolls, is shown in 1196 to be the son of Robert, and he seems to be succeeded by a Robert.

Thus, although the Pipe Roll entries in such cases concern themselves with the tenants in chief and might be supposed to concern themselves with those only, we find all through no Skelton de Brus mentioned; the names are those of the Annandale family only; and more, before the time at which the Inquisition says the acquisition was made, we find the name de Turp given instead of de Brus, apparently as if he were the tenant in chief (1215, 1229-30, etc.), and in 1222-3-4 Robert de Brus comes in, and not de Turp. It was no doubt this difficulty which caused Hodgson Hinde* to suggest that the de Turp family was in reality de Brus, and caused Parker to speak uncertainly.† But I do not think the evidence, so far as it is evidence, makes for that conclusion. The Christian names of the de Brus family coincide with the Annandale succession, and it is not likely that a branch, de Turp, would show the same succession and the same dates. And in addition it does not solve the real difficulty. The fee was that of Peter de Brus, a Skelton de Brus fee; and of the de Skelton family the Exchequer, one would think, required the dues, and not the Annandale. Charters, if any exist, would probably make the matter clear. But it is noticeable that the year in which the name of Robert de Brus first occurs in the Cumberland Pipe Roll is the year in which, if Dugdale is to be trusted, Peter de Brus paid for his relief (his succession duty), 1192, though he should have succeeded his father Adam in 1185. Work amongst Charters suggests to me, that

* *Pipe Rolls of Cumberland*, lxvii.

† *Pipe Rolls of Cumberland and Westmorland*, ii.

on succeeding and being allowed to have possession (through payment of the relief), Peter granted Edenhall out to his kinsman Robert de Brus on condition that he should pay some dues to him and his heirs, and also the service to the king, and that the Annandale de Brus family, as mesne lords, granted it first to the de Carliols, and then to the de Turps (if these were really not the same family) on similar conditions, and in the end the de Turps did, as the Inquisition says, acquire it. Thus the ownership of Robert de Brus (the later Robert) would be after all by hereditary succession; though not by descent from Peter, but descent from his grandfather, Robert, to whom Peter made the grant. But the de Turp acquirer could hardly be the Adam of the Inquisition. It looks as though it must have been a Robert earlier than this Adam, and there may easily have been two Roberts in the reign of John and Henry III. If one (the Robert of 1215) died before 1223 and left a son under age, the custody would be in the hands of Robert de Brus, and this would account for his name appearing in the Pipe Roll in 1223-4, and being merged again in 1229, and Robert de Turp being found instead. But later on, in 1252, when Robert de Turp died and his young son Adam was but 7½ years old, the transfer must have actually taken place, because Robert de Dacre pays for the custody to the king. The custody, since the holding was by military service, would not be paid for to the king while a de Brus was a superior lord, unless the de Brus at the time was also a minor, and neither the mesne lord de Brus (the Annandale) nor the superior (the Skelton) seems at this period to have a minor to show in possession. Hence it would seem that this Robert de Turp was actually holding under the king in chief, for this, without any other reason, would give the custody into the hands of the king, and the king could let it out if he so chose.

It looks then as if the first Turp owner of Edenhall, who was tenant in chief in fact and not in name, for Pipe Roll entries, was not Adam but Adam's father, Robert.

We can now take up again the Inquisitions, and take them in order as they came. The first is that after Robert de Turpt's death in 1252.* The jury were William son of Henry, William son of William, Thomas Francigena (le Franceys), William son of Huctred, Thomas Lowis, Henry de Milnebourne, Walter the dyer, John de Lenure (? le Venure), Gilbert son of William, Thomas le Venure, Richer Breto and Adam de Neuton. They stated on oath that Robert de Turpt held in demesne in the township of Edenhal 61 acres of land, each acre of which was worth 6d. (in yearly profits), and that Margery, widow of Robert de Turpt, holds in dower 17 of these acres: that Robert held also 21 bovates of land in the township, and each was worth 2s., and that Margery held 7 of these in dower; that he held also 6½ acres of pastureland and each was worth 8d., and of these Margery held 3; and that the undernamed had freeholds held by charter from Robert,† *viz.*, Eva, widow of Richer (Richard), half a carucate of land, paying for it 3s. 1d.; Matilda, a widow, 3 acres, paying yearly for it 18d., of which Margery receives 15d.; John de Turpt 2 (bovates ?) of land paying 1d.; Thomas Louuys 1 toft, paying for it 1d.; Alan de Turpt half a carucate, paying yearly 12d., which 12d. Margery receives; Richer le Breto 1 acre, paying for it 1d.; Ivo, son of the lord (of the manor) in demesne, 46 acres, paying yearly 6d. The following cottars also held under Robert: Matilda, a widow, held one toft and 1 acre, paying 2s.; Robert the Shepherd (Pastor) 1 toft and 1 acre, paying 22d.; Adam King,

* C. Inq., Hen. iii., file 47 (21).

† This general grant of freeholds also gives the impression that Robert was the fresh owner.

an enclosure and house ("*curtilagium*" including both), paying 2d. yearly; Eda, daughter of Reginald, 1 toft and 2 (acres ?) of land, paying 3s.; Agatha, 1 toft, paying 12d. yearly; Margery, daughter of John le Porter, 1 toft and 6 acres, paying 3s. There was also, they stated, a chief messuage (manor house) which was Robert's and was worth 3s. yearly. Robert also held the mill of Edenhall, which was worth 27s., and Margery (his widow) takes of these 9s. Robert received for pannage dues 27s., and Margery has 9s. of these; and Adam, of 7½ years of age, was his heir, and the sum total of Margery's dower was £4 10s. 7d. (yearly). Taking this dower at the usual one-third, which it seems to be, the value of the manor would approximately be £12 11s. 9d. Ivo, son of the lord, who must have been of age to be in possession, could only be a son not born in wedlock. Noticeable in this list is the proportion of female tenants, greater than in any list I remember to have seen; and noticeable also is the unusual description widow ("vidua") simply, which replaces in some of the instances the far more usual description "who was the wife of" (*que fuit uxor*).

The fine (*i.e.*, money for an agreement) paid by Robert de Dacre comes in date close on this Inquisition (Fine Roll, 36 Hen. III., m. 15), and the fine of 1 mark also paid in the same year by Robert de Dacre to have back again his woodland of Edenhall (Pipe Roll, 36 Hen. III.). His name does not appear in the Inquisition as holding anything under Robert de Turpt. What he held, though I can but feel uncertainty about it, may have been a portion of Inglewood, of the king. Robert de Dacre, a close relation no doubt of William de Dacre, lord of Dacre, who had been sheriff from 20 to 30 Henry III., when he grew tired of his office and asked to be relieved, was an enterprising person. In 31 Henry III. (1247-8) and in later years, by instalments, he paid 250

marks to have the custody of the lands and heir of Peter de Tilliol; in 1254-5 paid for money advanced from the Treasury—which was not all repaid in 1260, and had transactions in sales of wine in 1254, besides his hold on Edenhall. Another of the family, David de Dacre, paid in 1252-3 for pannage for twelve years in Inglewood.

We now come to some of the few notices there are of Adam de Turp, Robert's son and heir. The particulars of his infringement of the Forest laws are given by F. H. M. Parker—whom we sorely miss—in these *Transactions*, N.S., vii., pp. 13 and 18, and need not be repeated here. In 1277 or 1278 he was charged before the Assize by Ralf de Cundal (of Bampton, Westmorland) and Margaret his wife with having dispossessed them of a freehold of one messuage and 2 bovates of land in Edenhall. They did not prosecute, however, and an agreement was come to in which Adam recognized their claim. Even this might be a friendly trial, for they asked for no damages. In 7 Edw. I. (1278-9) a dispute about reasonable estovers (wood for repairs, etc.) in Edenhall wood between him and Adam de Dolfineby was settled by a final concord ending the suit.

Adam must have been married fairly soon in life, and this no doubt Robert de Dacre would secure, to make sure of that part of the profit from his custody. For in 1288 Thomas, son of Mr. Wm. de Goldington, of Appleby —clerk in Orders clearly because of the "Mr."—claims 2 messuages and 14 acres of land in Edenhale held by Robert, son of Adam Turpe (Assize Roll 1277), and at that time Adam could only be about 41; his son, to hold the tenement, at least of age. The defence made was that one of the so-called messuages was a sheep-fold in a vacant space, and no dwelling-house of man was near, and that the other messuage was not in existence, and the supposed site was a waste piece of ground; and that even were the messuages there, Henry de Goldington,

uncle of Thomas, long before his death enfeoffed Robert de Turp in the land. In 1291 the case came on again, and the defence was that Thomas was born before the marriage of his parents, and therefore could not be heir to any one. The jury agreed to this, and Robert was left in possession (Assize Roll 984). Adam was living at the time, as we shall see, and therefore the tenement was held under him. The next information comes from the Inquisition of 7 Edwd. II. (C. Inq., ii., file 32, 19). The king writes to his eschaetor stating that it was represented to him by Beatrix, widow of Robert Tourp of Edenhale, that Robert her deceased husband and she had been enfeoffed by Adam Turp in two-thirds of the manor of Edenhale jointly, to be held by them and the heirs of their bodies, and to revert to Adam and his heirs intact, if they should have no heirs; that Robert and she held peaceable possession from that time till Robert's death; and that when he died the eschaetor had entered on the two parts of the manor and had taken it into the king's hands as if Robert had been sole and not joint feoffee, and that this was doing a wrong to her, the other joint feoffee. Whereupon the king requires the eschaetor to hold inquisition and ascertain the truth, and distinctly and clearly and soon make known to him the result. This writ is dated April 12th, 7 Edwd. II. (1314). In consequence, an Inquisition was held at Penrith on Wednesday before the Feast of St. John the Baptist (19th June), and the jury were :—Robert de Tymperoun, John de Hoton Rouf, Robert de Neubigging, William de Dolfanby, John de Penruddoc, Alexander de Capella, Geoffrey de Bello Campo (Beauchamp), Thomas de Appelby, William de Edenhall, Thomas de Holleye, William de Wa[ ], and Nicholas Usser. Their verdict was that Robert de Turp and Beatrix had been enfeoffed by Adam jointly on Whit Sunday of the 4th year of the king (1311) by licence of the king, and had

continued in possession till the Monday before the Purification of St. Mary, in the king's 7th year, when Robert died (January 28th, 1314). The two-thirds of the manor, they said, were held of the king in chief by homage and fealty and by the service of $\frac{1}{4}$ of a knight's fee; and the (yearly) value was £4 8s. 5½d.*

She was left in possession, it is clear, and even succeeded to the whole manor, for the Inquisition after her death follows next, held on Wednesday before the Invention of the Holy Cross (27th April), 1328. The jury, Nicholas de Harlaxton, John de Kirkoswald, Walter de Bolsambi, Adam Armstrang, John Hunter, John de Penruddoc, Adam de Dolfanbi, Alexander de Capella, William Holey, Thomas del Hall, Gilbert de Halteclo, and John Marchel (? Mauchel), stated that Beatrix, who had been wife to Robert Turp, held the manor of Edenhal till her death, of the king in chief, by the service of half a knight's fee, and held nothing of any one else. In the manor, they said, was a chief messuage and courtyard and orchard of the (yearly) value of 3s. 4d.; and 71 acres of demesne, each acre worth 16d. yearly; 30 bovates of land, each bovate worth 18d.; 12 cottages, each worth 2s. 8d. yearly; 8 acres of land called forland, each worth 6d.; one water-mill for corn, worth in ordinary years 53s. 4d.; thirty acres of woodland within the King's Forest of Inglewod, worth 2d. for herbage and pannage, and not more because by the Assize of the Forest the lord of the manor could not sell anything of the wood nor fell any. There were 10 freeholders who held by fealty and the service of 7s. 7d. yearly in lieu of all services. They stated also that the said manor was in the seisin of Adam Turpp who gave it to Robert de Turpp and the aforesaid Beatrix, Robert's wife, by licence of the king, to be held

* Compared with the value of Margery's dower this shows that the value had gone down. But Margery's dower was valued before the Scottish Wars of Edwd. I.

by them and the heirs of their bodies, and that Johanna and Juliana, daughters of the aforesaid Robert and Beatrix, were the next heirs of Beatrix, and that Johanna was 16 years old and more, and Juliana 14 years and 2 months old.

Comment on some points connected with these two Inquisitions will follow later.

And next comes the Inquisition of 1362, with which this paper began, of which a portion of the verdict has been given. After the abstract of the history the verdict continued that William de Stapelton the deceased, husband of Juliana who had died before him, held a moiety of the manor which was his wife's inheritance by the courtesy of England;* that the half manor which he held was held in chief of the king by homage and the service of one-fourth of a knight's fee. And that although the ancestors of Juliana had held that moiety by the aforesaid service, the foresters of the king's forest of Inglewod took from that moiety yearly for food and provender (*pro putura sua*) 34s. 8d. and 3 quarters and 6 bushels of oats, and that too at any day of any month when they chose to take whatever portion of this was claimed as due.† And the bailiffs of the lord king took yearly from the moiety of the manor for their food and provender 4s. 4d. each year, and took this as if absolutely due from the moiety wherein the ancestors of Juliana were so enfeoffed as to hold it of the king and his heirs by the service of one-fourth of a knight's fee in lieu of all service.

There was in the moiety of the manor, they said, a

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* The "courtesy" of England in contrast with the law of Normandy allowed the husband, if there were any children, to remain in possession of his wife's lands, if she died first, until he died.

† Easier to understand than to translate. The words are "Capiunt annuatim de medietate manerii predicti pro putura sua 34s. et 8d. et 3 quateria et 6 busellos avene redditus quolibet die et mensi anni secundum portionem redditus illius." They demanded it in instalments and had no fixed days for demanding or paying.

chief messuage worth nothing yearly. There were 34 acres of land of which each was worth 6d.—total value 17s. These were sown before William died. There were 2 acres of meadow in the demesne worth 16d. Of rents of freeholders holding by fealty there were 9d. and 1 quarter of a pound of pepper—price 4d., payable at St. Martin's Day and Pentecost. A moiety of a water-mill there was, feeble and ruinous, worth 8s. yearly. From rents of four tenants-at-will 16s. came at Martinmas and Pentecost also. And William, when he died, held in demesne and of fee $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres of land in Hobardby of the lord king by fealty and the service of paying to the king at the Exchequer of Carlisle 2s. at Easter and Michaelmas by the hands of the sheriff of Cumberland and doing suit to the lord's court yearly, and this land was of no greater value than the service paid. William, the son of the aforesaid William and Juliana, was the heir, and was 26 years of age and over. And it should be understood, they added, that there was a messuage and with it 12 acres of land, parcel of the moiety of the manor of Edenhale, which was in the hands of the king and in the custody of the eschaetor; the reason being that Adam de Turpe, who held of the king in chief, gave the messuage and the lands to Agnes, a daughter of his, to be held by her and her heirs in fee, without obtaining the licence of the king. This messuage and these lands, after the death of Agnes, ought to revert to William, son of Juliana, and next heir, as they understood. They were worth 4s. yearly. This was all the land that William held. He died on the preceding 6th of May.

Juliana was the younger daughter of Robert and Beatrix, and this William de Stapelton inherited only her moiety. The general impression given is that the whole value had gone much down. The ruinous mill working feebly no doubt because the embankments of

the pond had not been kept up, the feeble rents also of the tenants as well as the exactions of the king's foresters, who not only came at uncertain times for their dues but seem to have demanded from the moiety what was due from the whole, if even from that they were due, tell us of bad times. Wars for twenty years and more, partly with Scotland, partly with France, at times with both countries at once, must have lowered prosperity and raised expense.

What one now wants to learn is, what became of the other moiety of Edenhall, Johanna's moiety, the elder daughter's. Something about this is told us by C. Inq. A.Q.D. (*ad quod damnum*), File 349 (3) of 37 Edw. III. (1362). The enquiry was whether it would prejudice the king's rights or any rights of any one if he granted to William de Stapilton permission to take in exchange for one-fourth of the manor of Stapilton the moiety of Edenhall which Robert de Laiburn had held by the courtesy of England after the death of Johanna, daughter of Robert de Turpp, and which the said Robert de Laiburn had demised for the term of his own life (he could, of course, demise it for no longer) to John de Stapilton whose inheritance it was. William had, it seems, already acquired this moiety of Edenhall without obtaining licence of the king, and therefore it was taken into the king's hands. The Inquisition thus commanded was held at Penrith on Wednesday before the Purification of St. Mary, 37 Edwd. III. (January 27th, 1363). The jurors, Thomas Beauchampe, Adam de Burton, Roger de Salkeld, John de [Ho?]ton, William de Laton, John de Carleton, John de Laysingby, Gilbert de Suthak, John de Alanby, William de Hoton of Salkeld, William Vaux, and Thomas Hudson of Skelton, stated that it would not be prejudicial to the interests of any one for the king to give permission if the conditions of service to him were continued. They added that the

moiety was held of the king in chief by the service of one-fourth of a Knight's fee and of giving yearly for the food and provender of the forester of Inglewod for the time being, 7 quarters and a half of oats at the feast of Michaelmas, and of paying 17s. 4d. in the course of the year annually, portion by portion in monthly instalments. The value of this moiety of the manor was worth, beyond its expenses and services, 24s.,—a valuation which would make the whole manor only about 48s.,—showing a very large depreciation.

Reasoning has to complete this tale. It is clear that Johanna, as well as Juliana, married a Stapelton; that Johanna and her husband had a son named John; that for her second husband she married Robert de Laiburn, and that Robert and she had issue; hence the life-interest of Robert by the courtesy of England. Whether the Laiburne issue lived or no, I have seen nothing to tell. Most probably not, though the issue might be a girl, and would not inherit.

But apparently Robert acted honourably in making John de Stapelton the tenant of the moiety. What relation John was to William also, I do not know. It would seem that he was owner of part at any rate of Stapelton, and that the move on both sides was for consolidation of estate by exchange.

I leave this as I wrote it. Since then, in looking for something else, I found unexpected confirmation in Assize Roll, No. 1364 (8 Edwd. III., 1334). The question which the jury then was to settle was whether John de Stapelton and Johanna his wife, and William de Stapelton and Juliana his wife had unjustly dispossessed Nicholas de Herlaston and his wife of the right of digging peat in Edenhal. The Jury gave their verdict for the plaintiffs and 3s. 4d. damage. Another question before the Jury was whether John de Stapelton, junior, and Johanna his wife, and William de Stapelton and Juliana had

dispossessed Adam de Warthcopp, Vicar of Edenhal, of his right to take estovers (firewood and wood for repairs) in 40 acres of woodland and 300 of moor. Johanna and Juliana were present to answer. John and William did not appear. The two sisters won the case.

The Stapelton family appears to have continued for more than 100 years longer as mesne lords of part, at any rate, of Stapelton, since in Inq. p. mortem, 8 Edw. IV., 40 (1469), Margaret Stapleton was stated to have held land there of John de Stapleton. But it does not appear how William was possessed of one-fourth of that manor to give to his kinsman John in exchange for the moiety of Edenhall, since his father, as we have seen, was returned as having no land in Cumberland, but Edenhall and Hobardby (Upperby).

But thence forward, the king's consent being given, William owned the whole of Edenhall. There was one more step however to be taken that security might be made sure, and of this we have the record. In 1369 (C. Inq. A.Q.D., 367 (4)) is given King Edward's writ, addressed to Thomas de Musgrave his eschaetor, to enquire whether William de Stapilton and Mariota his wife may, without damage to the interests of any one, enfeoff Adam Armstrang, rector of Skelton, William de Beauchamp, rector of Kirkoswald, and John Waterward, chaplain in Edenhall, for purposes which will appear in the verdict of the Inquisition ordered, which was held on Saturday the Feast of the Nativity of St. Mary, September 8th. The Jury were: John de Dalston, Gilbert de Suthaik, Adam de Blenkow, William de Vaux of Katerlen, Hugh de Wherton, John de Leisingby, John de Carlton, Hugh del Lathes, Thomas Hudson, John de Alenby, William de Hoton of Salkeld, and Richard de Laton. Their verdict was that it would be of no prejudice to the king nor any one for him to permit the enfeoffment of the interim feoffees to be made in such wise that by them

William and Mariota could be re-enfeoffed in the manor to be held by them and the heirs of William of the king and his heirs by the accustomed services, except in this one point, that if William died during the lifetime of Mariota and their heir should be under age, the king would lose the wardship and the marriage of the heir. The manor, they said, was held by service of half a knight's fee and was worth, beyond the services, 66s. 8d. yearly. And William de Stapilton held, besides Edenhal, a moiety of the hamlet of Cambok of Sir Ranulf de Dacre, lord of Gillesland, by homage and suit of court at Irthington every three weeks, and it was worth 10s. yearly, and that he held no other lands in Cumberland.

The verdict of the Jury throws light on some of the arrangements for entail which are met with in mediæval charters. The custody of a manor or of land and of the heir after the father's death, if the heir was under age, was the right of the lord next superior, except in socage holdings, in Westmorland and Cumberland. The estate was taken into his hands and the revenues sequestrated, and out of the custody the superior lord made profit. It was quite natural that owners who did not look gratefully on the impoverishment of what their children ought to inherit after them, should devise some scheme of evading this by means of law. For making profit was the plan of all superior lords from the king downwards. From the verdict of this Inquisition it appears that when an estate was granted to a man and his wife and the man's heirs, not the heirs of both, the custody could be averted. The king would lose it in this instance, they said. It would in fact remain, as in a socage holding, in the widow's hands. The condition met with not seldom in charters was, therefore, no extra selfishness, no domineering idea, on the part of the husband, and no disparagement of the wife. It was protecting her and the child after the husband's death.

In the case of entail being made on the heirs of both, which at first view looks more natural, if the wife died childless the husband's children, should he marry again, though the estate was his, were cut out of inheritance, except some fresh arrangement could be made. If the wife outlived her husband and there were no children, she could claim her dower of one-third, as she could from her husband's children if she were a second or later wife,—or from the heirs of her husband if he had no children—unless arrangement had been made by charter while he lived granting her a revenue in lieu of dower. She could claim the one-third also against the custodian. But in the cases of entail specified above she seems to have been left in possession of the whole revenue at least till the coming of age of the heirs. An interesting case of the working of this is given in the case of Robert de Turp and Beatrix, which we have already passed. Adam de Turp granted two-thirds of Edenhall to his son Robert and Robert's wife Beatrix and the heirs of both. The holding was of the king, in chief. In all cases of death of tenants in chief under the king, and even of those who held under them when the tenants in chief were under age, *Inquisitiones post mortem* were required. Strangely enough, after the death of Robert de Turp the eschaetor seems to have begun the sequestration and to have been prevented from carrying it out, the Inquisition not being ordered; and the widow complained that as she was joint feoffee and living still, her rights were being infringed by it. And the real Inquisition waits till her death, and although, so far as we know, she had only the claim of having been joint feoffee of two-thirds of Edenhall, she was allowed to hold, as her husband held by inheritance at death, the whole manor till she died. One of her children, even at her death, was perhaps of what was considered of age—for marriage;—the other certainly was not, and what was the arrangement

about custody of them, I have not discovered. Had she lived, the custody would have been the widow's, the joint feoffee till the younger was of marriageable age.

The omission of the *Inquisitio post mortem* after Robert de Turp's death seems exceptional,—but that made on complaint of the widow no doubt took its place.

To return to Mariota and William. She was an heiress, and this quite plainly made William equal to holding the offices which he filled. He was sheriff in 1377 and 1379 and till his death on Thursday, March 1st, 1380 (*Inq. p. mortem*, 3 Ric. II., No. 62). He was also the king's forester in Inglewood—and no doubt paid himself his own fees—and had the king's pardon granted in December, 1377, for all trespasses of vert and venison (cutting green wood and killing deer) in the forest.

In 1378 we find him retained to stay with the king and still kept on in his office of forester, and having the grant of the closes of Itonfeld, Barrowfeld, and Brunegill. As forester, he had succeeded William Lenglish in 49 Edw. III. In 1379 he was allowed to have the right of remainder to lands in Hoton Rof and Raghton. These were but small tenements.

After his death, at the Inquisition held 16th April, 1380 (3 Rich. II.), the Jurors, Richard de Salkeld, John de Levyngton, Roger de Martyndale, William Dykson, William Rycson, William Whiteheved, John de Carleton, William Vaux, Gilbert de Whelpdale, William Somers (?), and William Whitlawe, referred to the enfeoffment of him and Mariota by the interim feoffees—Adam Armstrang and others, all mentioned above. The manor, they said, was worth 100s. and William was his son and heir and was aged 16 and over. In 4 Ric. II. pardon was granted to Robert de Hormesheved and others and Mary, late wife of William de Stapelton, Sheriff of Cumberland and Keeper of the King's Castle, executors of William, for any escapes of felons up to 4th November, 1380. In

10 Richard II. common of pasture in Inglewode was granted to Mary (*i.e.*, Mariota); and in the first shape of this grant we learn that 34s. and 10 skeps of oats were paid yearly to the forester, in which office Roger Coghull succeeded William. The king or his officials, in granting this, had supposed that it was due to the Exchequer. No doubt William's tenure of the forestership had caused a slip of memory on their part. Then in 1390, 5th February, Mary and her son William received the grant of the closes mentioned a little above, to hold for a rent (*firma*) of 100s. They were in no good state by reason of Scottish raids. This 100s. in 1394 the king gave as emolument to Ralf Lord Neville.

In 1397-8 this William Stapelton became sheriff, and in 1397 he had licence to enclose with dyke and low hedge and to hold in fee simple a parcel of the pastures in Inglewod Forest, estimated by the king's lieutenant in the Forest (Robert de Lowther) to contain 40 acres, reaching from Brambura on the king's highway to Penrith along Amote side to "le Kerre" in Dolfanby.

Then, on October 9th, 1399, came confirmation of a grant allowing William de Stapelton the reversion, on the death of his mother Mary de Stapilton, of parts of the king's demesnes close by the city of Carlisle, to be held at the rent of 5 marks yearly in consideration of his loss in houses, rents and gardens razed for fortification against the Scots, which had brought in 10 marks yearly. Then a grant for life of the close of Touthwayt in Inglewod at 22s. 4d. yearly. In the 1st year of Hen. IV. he was placed on the Commission about walls and moats (for fortification purposes) in Cumberland; but a few years later was outbidden by John de Skelton in the rent of Touthwayt, and lost the holding.*

Mariota or Mary died on the Feast of the Conversion

* All the foregoing items are from Letters Patent.

of St. Paul, 1406, and from the *Inquisitio p. mortem* thereafter held we learn much. It was held on Wednesday, March 31st, of that year. The jurors were: Robert de Mulcastr Kt., Cristofer Culwen Kt., Richard de Louthr, John Vaux, Robert de Blennerhasset, William de Kirkby, William de Rotington, William de Beaulieu, Nicholas de Beaulieu, Robert del [Lathes ?], Richard Yonker, and Thomas Barber. They stated that Mary—they call her Maria, not Mariota—but the identity is certain—died seised of 12 messuages, 80 acres of land and 9s. of rents and a moiety of a mill in Gamelsby and Wyganby, which she held jointly with a former husband, Thomas de Alanby, granted to them and their heirs, and that these tenements were held of the king by the cornage-payment of 3s. 4d., and were worth over and above all expenses 10s., and that John de Levyngton was the heir of the aforesaid Thomas and Mary, being son and heir of Mary de Levyngton their daughter and heir. She also owned 30 acres of land and 9 acres of pasture in the suburbs of Carlisle, held jointly with her husband Thomas of the king (*i.e.*, in chief), worth 20s., and of this, too, John de Levyngton was the heir, and he was 24 years of age and over. She died seised also of the manor of Edenhale, held jointly with William de Stapelton, formerly her husband, granted to them and the heirs of William by Adam Armestrange, rector of Skelton, William de Beauchamp, rector of Kirkoswald, and John Waterward, chaplain, by licence of the king. This manor was held of the king for one-third of a knight's fee and was worth 100s. And William de Stapilton was the next heir and was of 30 years of age and over. Mary also died seised by hereditary right for herself and her heirs of one-third of the manor of Cargowe and of 4 messuages and 80 acres of land, and one-third of a fishery, which were held of the heirs of Robert Parnyng by homage and fealty as of his manor of Stanton; worth

only 20s., because devastated by the Scots; of this land William was the heir. Also she was seised of the manor of Thurstanfeld for herself and her heirs, her own inheritance, held of the lord of Dacre as of his manor of Burgh-by-Sandes by the service of 10s. yearly in lieu of all services, at fee farm. This was of no (present) annual value, since it was devastated by the Scots; of this William de Stapilton was heir; also she was seised of 10 messuages and 15 bovates of land in Lanbergh, her own inheritance, for herself and her heirs, held of the lord of Dacre by the cornage of 20d. and a rent of [ ] payable at fee farm at Pentecost and St. Martin,—of no (present) value, because devastated by the Scots; William was the heir of this also. She died seised also, for her self and her heirs, her own inheritance, of 3 messuages and 20 acres of land in the hamlet of Burgh-by-Sandes, held of the lord of Dacre, by service of 15d. at fee farm; of no value again through devastation by the Scots. William was the heir of this. Also she died seised, for herself and her heirs, of 1 messuage and 20 acres of land in Stapelton, held of the heirs of John Castelkayrok by the service of 40d.; William was also heir of this. Also she died seised of 1 messuage and 20 acres of land [in Studholme], and of 48 acres of land in Galgarthfeld and of 6 acres in Eluet hill and of 9 acres of land and pasture above the Petrall buttes and le Gardhill by Petrall and Grengates and pasture of the King's demesne by Carlisle and of the closes of Itonfeld, Barrokfeld and Brunegill in the forest of Inglewod by charter from the king, the reversion of which closes, after her death, were to go to William de Stapelton, her son.

Of the greater part of what she held, we see William de Stapelton was heir; no doubt because the child of de Alanby happened to be a girl; had the Stapelton child also been a girl the inheritance would have been more evenly divided. The same tale of waste by the

Scots goes through the *Inq. p. mortem* of 36 Hen. VI., 48 (1459), and 8 Edw. IV., 40, 1468, two generations down; it is not given in the *Inq. p. mortem* of the William who succeeded to Mariota in November, 1432 (11 Hen. VI., 41); but fewer particulars occur in this; and it is not given in the *Assignatio dotis Marie Stapelton* of 21 Hen. VI., 1443, but in such a document one would not expect to find it. In Mariota's *Inq. p. mortem* we find how possessions in Stapelton came back to the Edenhall Stapelton family, the whole of what they held there having been given up for the moiety of Edenhall. The Castel Cayrok family held the advowson in the beginning of the reign of Edw. II., and that would mean that they held the land. The Stapelton family held under them part, at any rate, later, and it would seem by comparing this *Inquisitio* with the *Inq.* of 8 Edward IV. as if the Stapelton family held under them there still. This Inquisition is difficult enough to decipher in parts, but it seems to give Margaret Stapleton—widow, the heiress of Alston Moor—as holding of John de Stapilton the same messuage and 20 acres which Mariota had held of the Castel Cayrok heirs. Margaret held this not as of Veteripont inheritance, but because she and her husband had been made joint feoffees, and she was the survivor.

I am not following up these later Inquisitions, because they were subsequent to the time when the Veteripont estates came in, and some particulars of these have been already given in these *Transactions*, N.S., xi. There was, so far as I can see, only one other addition of estate which came to the owners of Edenhall between. To this I now may turn. It throws light which may interest many on the form of procedure in claims to land when brought before the Assize in the fifteenth century. It is found in Assize Roll 143, but it is not a mere record; the documents themselves are there.

To begin: there is the king's writ. The king (*i.e.*,

his official) writes to the sheriff of Cumberland, Sir Christopher Curwen, saying that complaint had reached him from William Stapilton and Mary his wife that Thomas de Dacre, Kt., and Thomas de Dacre, Esqr., and his wife Elizabeth, and Margaret, widow of Thomas Bowet, had dispossessed them of their freehold in Blakhal, Bochardby and Staynton. Sir Christopher Curwen, if William and Mary pledged themselves to prosecute their claim in court,* was to put them in possession of land and chattels till a stated day, notice of which would be given to him by the Justices, *viz.*, Henry Earl of Northumland, William Babyngton and others (this was the day for the case to come on, then or within some few following days). Meanwhile Sir Christopher, by means of good summoners, was to summon twelve men of good and legal standing (*liberos et legales*) of the neighbourhood to "view" the tenement and appear before the above-named Earl and the other justices, prepared to hear the evidence and give their verdict. Sir Thomas de Dacre and the other defendants, either personally or by their representatives (*ballivos*) were to be placed under bond that they would attend to hear the verdict. The writ was to be returned to the king, and the summonses with it. The date of this writ was April 1st, 6 Hen. VI., at Westminster (1428).

Returned according to mandate, it was endorsed by the Sheriff thus :—†

Pledges of prosecution :—William Stapilton Junr. Hugh Lowther. Thomas de Dacre Kt is attached (bound) in 100 ewes. Thomas de Dacre junior possesses nothing in my bailiwick by which I can "attach" him, he has no bailiff and cannot be found.

Elizabeth wife of Thomas de Dacre Esqr has nothing in my bailiwick by which I can attach, has no bailiff and is not to be found.

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* This was not only for the sake of preventing delays in court, but for the sake of the fees due to the Crown and officials.

† The endorsements are here translated.

Margaret widow of Thomas Bowet has nothing in my bailiwick by which I can attach her, has no bailiff and is not to be found.

The remainder of the execution of this writ appears in a "panel" sewn to it. Cristoferus Curwen, miles, vice-com.

The "panel" sewn thereto has this :—

Of the moiety of the manors of Blakhall, Bochardby and Staynton with their belongings. The assize.

Cristofer Moresby of Moresby, Kt, Nicholas Radclyff Kt, John de Lamplogh Kt, Cristofer de Curwen of Thornethwayt Kt, William de Lee Kt, Henry Threlkeld Kt, William Thwaytes, John Curwen, Richard Warcope, Nicholas de Irton, Robert Hoton of Hoton, John Blenrehasset, William de Coldale, William Hoton of Hoton Jone, Geo. Warthewyk, Thomas Delamore, William de Dykes, Ad. de Denton, Robert de Alanby, Robert de Heghmore senr, Robert de Brytby, Thomas Grame, Stephen Berwys, Thomas de Wodhall. Summoners, Robert Reynaldson, Alan Husseley, Thomas Belt, Henry Hunte, William Crawe, John Bowis.

The day for "viewing" the case Wednesday next after the feast of the Assumption of S Mary.

Then follow these documents :—

(1) Mandates, William Babington (justice) to Christopher Curwen.
(2) The King's writs to William Babington, etc., appointing them justices to hold the Assize.
(3) Citation of Assize. "The lord king commands, etc.," appointing the date at which the justices were to hold the Assize.
(4) Formal appointment of attorney to represent them by William and Mary Stapilton.
(5) The king's orders to the sheriff.
(6) Permission for Thomas Wyther or John Drayton to represent in the trial Thomas de Dacre and his wife Elizabeth, he being under age.

Then comes the record of the trial (the report).

Thomas Wyther responded for Thomas Dacre, Esqre., and Elizabeth his wife; and Richard Forster for Sir

Thomas de Dacre and Margaret. These pleaded that William Stapilton and Mary never held anything in the said moieties except jointly with one Robert Highmore, who was still living and is not named in the writ summoning the Assize. But if this is not taken as an objection, they maintain that they have done no injury to nor dispossessed William and his wife. William and Mary maintained their ground, and therefore the Assize was held. Thomas de Dacre and Elizabeth respond as tenants of the aforesaid moieties, in right of Elizabeth and they produced record of a final concord of 10 Richard II. (1386-7) by which the manors were entailed on Robert Parnyng and his heirs with remainder to Thomas Bowet and Margaret his wife, sister and heir of Robert. Thomas Bowet and Margaret, they said, had a son, William Bowet, and through him they claimed. William and Mary claimed by virtue of a charter of which the following is a digest :—

Know all by these presents that I Margaret Bowet formerly wife to Thomas Bowet Esqre in my unstained widowhood have remitted and released and quitclaimed for myself and my heirs to William Stapelton of Edenall senior, and Mary his wife and the heirs of the same William all right and claim which I had, have or could have in any way to the moiety of the manors of Blakhall, Bochardby and Staynton which William and Mary have in possession by gift and enfeoffment of Matilda Walker and Thomas Whitlokman my cousins and coheirs in the aforesaid manors. So that neither I, the aforesaid Margaret nor my heirs nor any one in our names can put in any claim. And I and my heirs will warrant the said moieties of manors to William and Mary &c. for all time. Dated at Carlisle, Sunday after the Feast of the Assumption of St Mary 3 Hen. V. (Aug. 7, 1415).

The jury gave their verdict in favour of William and Mary. Their ground for this seems to have been that Margaret Bowet had given them this charter of release and quitclaim before she gave the charter to her son William. The point is obscure enough, for one can

hardly imagine the alienation, but it is pretty certain that it would not have been done were there any chance of William's having a son, for the entail had been made on the male heirs of Thomas Bowet and Margaret.

But the claim by Thomas de Dacre to the manors in right of his wife shows that she was a Bowet, and not as Dugdale and others have it, a Bowes. She was the ancestress of the Dacres of the South. The inheritance claimed by her husband in her name through William Bowet was not a Bowet but a Parnyng inheritance, and in this Elizabeth Dacre had no share.

I do not feel that all the difficulties connected with the point are cleared away, but one must wait for further light.

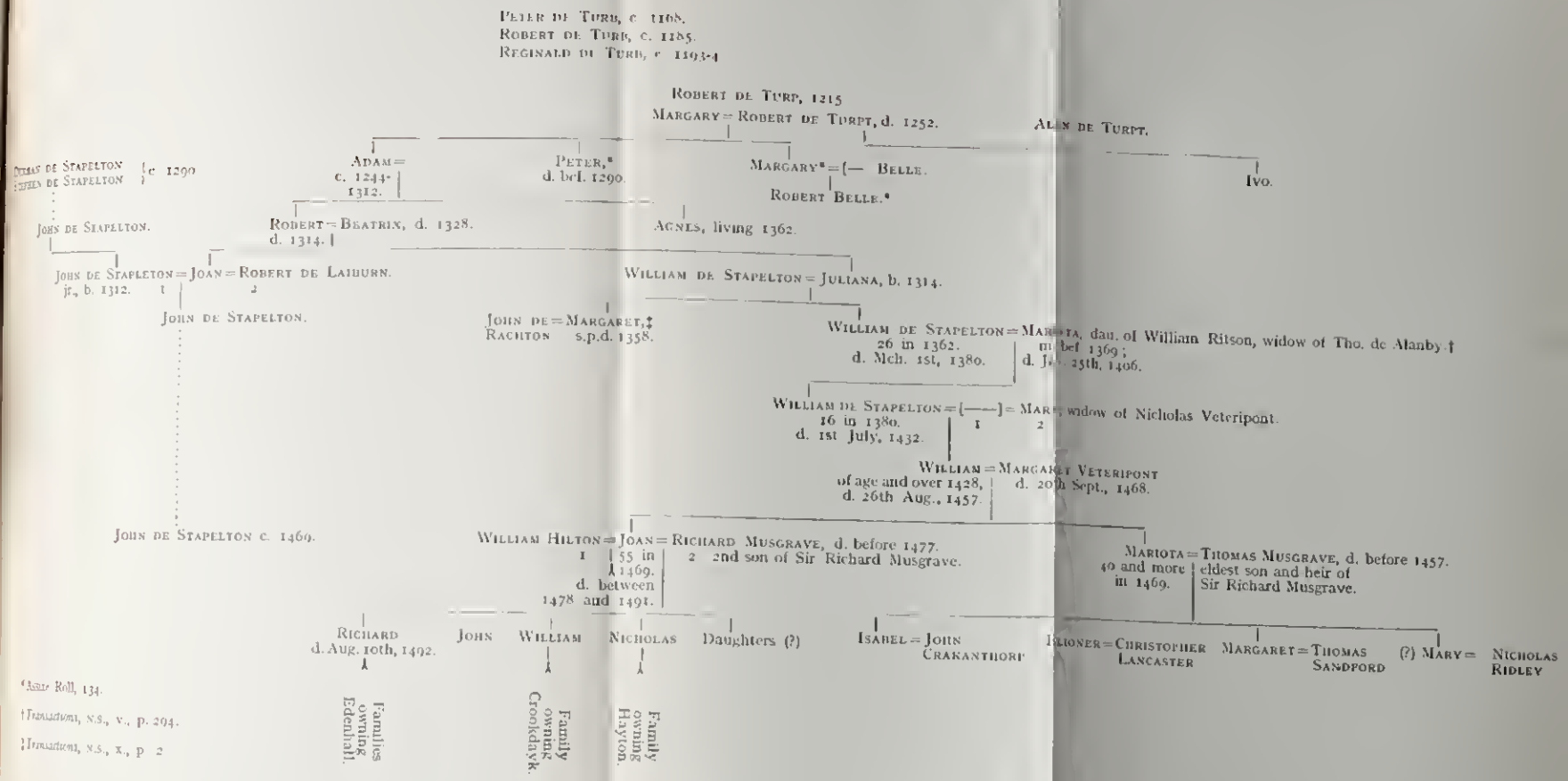
NOTE TO THE MUSGRAVE PORTION OF THE PEDIGREE.

The *Inqq. p. mortem* of the Musgraves of the later portion of the fifteenth and the earlier half of the sixteenth century show without any possibility of doubt that the family which came into possession of Edenhall was that of the second son, Richard Musgrave, and the elder Stapelton daughter, Joan, widow of William Hilton. Every printed pedigree that I have seen, and every MS. pedigree, every one even of the sixteenth century and seventeenth, is curiously wrong save one—that made by Sir John Lowther about 1640. But he gives only Richard's descendants, and alludes in no way to those of Thomas and Mariota, and this pedigree itself is confused and very troublesome to make out.

The inscription existing in Rev. J. Hodgson's time in Kirkby Stephen Church tells us, in its pathetic way, what happened :—

Hic jacet Ricardus Musgrave, miles, juxta Elizabetham uxorem ejus et Thomam filium et heredem eorum; qui obiit IX° die mensis Novembris A.D. MCCCCLXIIII cujus anime propitietur Deus. Amen.

Families of the Earlier Owners of Edenhall



*Assize Roll, 134.

†*Transactions*, N.S., v., p. 294.

‡*Transactions*, N.S., x., p. 2

TO FACE P. 226.

Thomas, this son and heir, died before 1457, before his father. He left daughters only, and the whole Edenhall inheritance, as well as the Musgrave, went to his younger brother Richard and Richard's descendants. To give the whole proof would need a separate paper, which in some future *Transactions* I may hope to do. The pedigree which I give is, I trust, accurate; but for one, at any rate, of the daughters of Thomas and Mariota the evidence is only indirect.

ART. XXI.—*Edenhall Church and its Glass.* By the REV. BERNARD G. R. HALE, M.A., and FRANCIS HASWELL, M.D.

Read at the Church, September 6th, 1912.

I.—EDENHALL CHURCH:

BY THE REV. B. G. R. HALE, M.A.

THE Church of Edenhall is the second in order of the "Cuthbert" Churches—Great Salkeld being the first.

Externally, it is ancient, the oldest part being the north wall of the nave, which shows a narrow lancet window—a mere slit—which, on the interior, has been built up. The stones of the walls show with some clearness the successive additions—especially in the lengthening of the chancel to the east, and the beautiful machicolated tower at the west end. This addition probably dates from the end of the fifteenth century, when the estate passed, with the heiress of the Stapletons, to the Musgrave family—the Stapleton brass (facing p. 230) is dated 1458, and the tower bears three heraldic shields of this period. Many particulars of the Church are in print, in the county histories, and in the *Transactions* of this Society.*

Edenhall—lying in the angle formed by the Eamont and Eden—has, in all probability, been always a desired place of residence. The Church occupies the south end of a knuckle of rising ground, and is no great distance from the well in the Hall grounds, known as St. Cuthbert's well. Other wells exist in the village, whose site was

* The Bells, o.s., xi., p. 129; the Brass, o.s., xiii., p. 142; the Church in 1703, Bp. Nicolson's *Miscellany Accounts*, p. 58; the Terrier, 1704, *ibid.*, p. 173.

possibly fixed by the presence of these springs. The ground, both south and north of the village, is low-lying and subject to frost and flood. The farm of Dolphenby —less than a mile south of the Church—may well preserve the name of Dolfin. One of this name was son of Gospatric of Northumbria, whom the Red King drove out in 1092, when he came North with a great host and made the land of Carlisle part of the kingdom of England.* The writer was told, by the late Mr. Lancaster of Dolphenby, that on his farm—not far from Udford ford in Eamont—the ploughmen find stone foundations, which may mark the site of Dolfin's hold.†

The interior of the Church of Edenhall is entirely modern —a good example of plaster-work (especially the roof of the chancel, which is often taken for oak panelling). It dates from about 1834, when the Revd. Sir Christopher Musgrave restored it. The chancel arch is frankly copied from Norman moulding, and is entirely plaster. It *may* conceal ancient work, but it was proved in 1907 (when the Church was cleaned and small repairs made during the erection of a new organ) that there is no ancient carving at the south door such as exists at Great Salkeld. About 1850 a marble font is described as standing under the chancel arch. It is now in the vestry: the present font is said to have been then in the yard: it is a block of red stone, roughly shaped, and bears marks of having had iron bars fixed across it. Was it the "Plague Stone" at some period of its history? The writer has heard this view advanced by a resident in the village: it may have stood where there now is a cross—some 200 yards north of the Church.

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* Another Dolfin's Runic autograph is seen on a stone in the south transept of Carlisle Cathedral.

† In Jan. 1913 a ring-mound, 2 furlongs S. of Dolphenby, was dug into, but nothing was found except cobbles and yellow boulder clay, naturally deposited.

II.—The Glass: by Francis Haswell, M.D.

The painted glass which adorns the windows in this church gives the alliances of the Musgrave family for many generations. The shields of arms in the south window, near the chancel, were in the church in Bishop Nicolson's time; he says:—"In the great window here are the arms of Stapleton and Musgrave, Stapleton and Lowther &c." They really are, reading from left to right:—

1. Musgrave impaling Stapleton.
2. Veteripont ,, ,,
3. ,, ,, Hilton.

and the Veteripont coat is that of Veteripont of Alston.

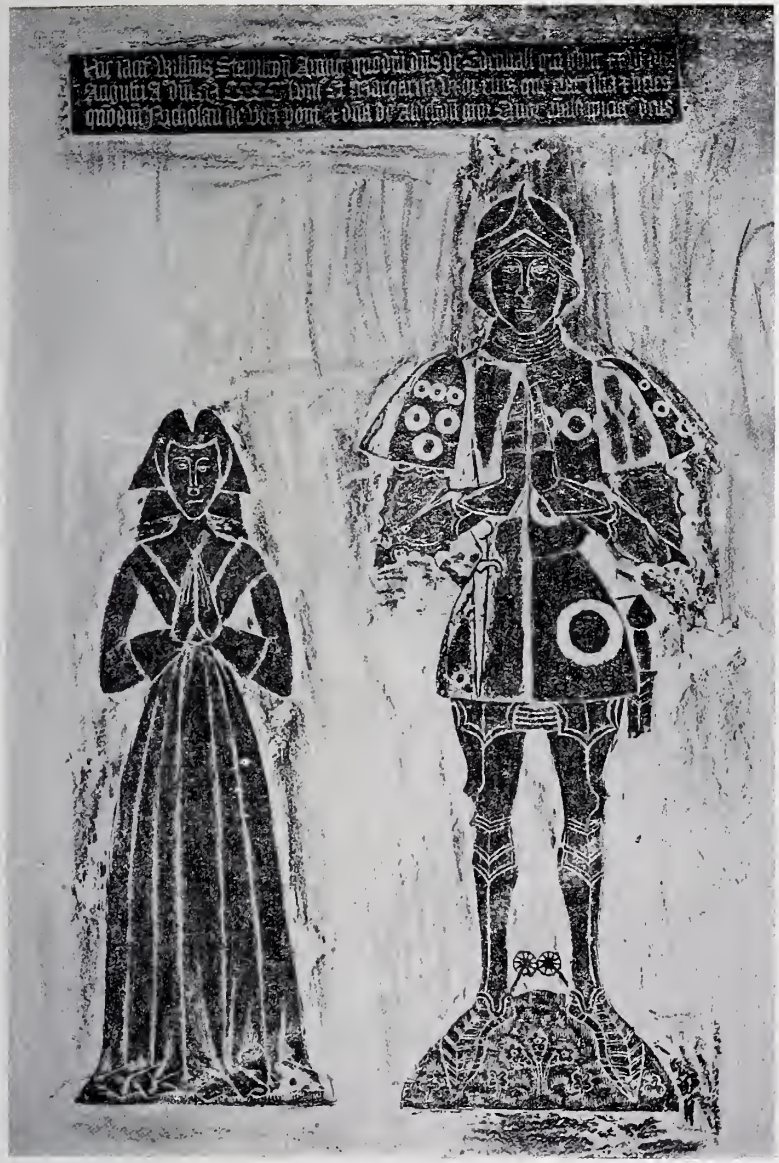
The first refers to the well-known match between Thomas Musgrave and Mariota Stapleton about the year 1450, whereby the Musgrave family came into possession of Edenhall.

The second is, I think, put in wrong way round, an easy matter when you notice that the glass is made up of pieces of self-coloured glass fastened by lead strips. Thus it should be Stapleton impaling Veteripont, for the marriage of the two persons whose effigy you have just seen on the brass in the chancel and whose marriage took place about the year 1414.

No. 3 I cannot trace whichever way the glass is turned, for no marriage of Veteripont with Hilton of Durham or Hilton with Veteripont is recorded, but it may well be one of the missing alliances of the Alston family.

Of the arms in the window near the south door, the sable cross is no doubt the shield of the Priors of Carlisle, who were at one time the patrons of the living.

The other shield is not quite certain; it is per chevron arg. and Gules, guttee d' or, in chief two roses of the second, and the nearest approach I can get to it is CHARDIN,



THE BRASS OF WILLIAM AND MARGARET STAPLETON, 1458, AT EDENHALL CHURCH

TO FACE P. 230.

a late Musgrave alliance of the year 1711; their arms, as given now, are arg. a chevron azure in chief two roses in base, an eagle close the second.

The more interesting glass, however, is that in the north and south windows of the chancel. You will see there four shields not in correct order; the right-hand glass in the north window should be the first, and it shows MUSGRAVE impaling STAPLETON, with the inscription :—

Richard Musgrave Knight maried Johan, daughter and one of the heirs of William Stapleton.

If you consult Nicolson and Burn, Hutchinson or Dugdale, you will find that Joan is given as the wife of Thomas Musgrave of Edenhall, and only Denton, to whose accuracy Dr. Wilson lately paid a tribute, correctly states that it was MARIOTA who married that particular Musgrave (*Accompt*, Tract Series, p. 120).

The Inq. P.M. of William Stapleton is quite conclusive —"Mariota qui fuit uxor Thome Musgrave armigeri defuncti."

The next in sequence is the right hand glass in the south window, which gives Musgrave and Stapleton quarterly impaling Colvill and Tilliol quarterly with the inscription :—

Nicholas Musgrave fourth son to Richard and Johan Stapleton maried Margaret Colvill daughter and heir to William Colvill.

The coat of Colvill of Torpenhow is not well known and is not recorded, but Colvile de la Dale of Yorkshire is given in Vincent's Ordinary as or, a fess gules, in chief three torteaux, and this fairly corresponds to this shield, indeed, from the position, it could be nothing else.

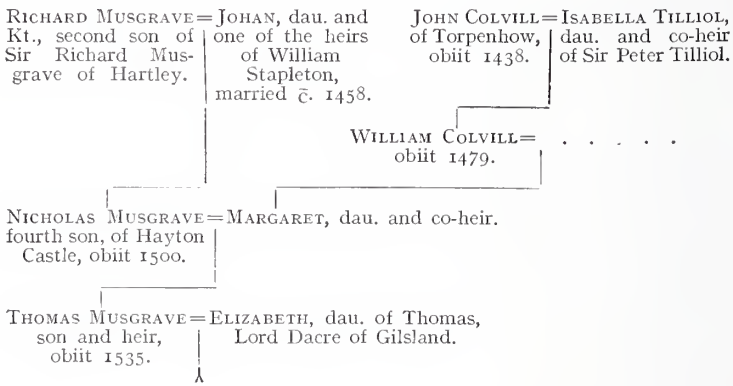
The left hand glass of the north window is next in sequence, and shows a quarterly shield of Musgrave,

Stapleton, Colvill, and Tilliol, with the motto—LOVE AND OBAI.

The remaining shield has the four coats the same as the last, impaling DACRE with a bendlet az. for difference, and the inscription :—

Thomas Musgrave sonne and heir to Nicholas Musgrave and Margaret Colvill maried Elezabeth daughter to Thomas L. Dacre.

Thus we get the following pedigree :—



But you may search in vain among the ancestors of the family of Edenhall for this descent, and the reason is that it refers to the family of MUSGRAVE of HAYTON, now extinct and represented by Charles Hylton-Jolliffe, Esq.

How, then, did this glass come here, and when was it made ?

The Musgraves of Hayton began their existence on the marriage of Nicholas with Margaret Colvill. Several generations followed to Edward Musgrave, who was much in evidence on the Royalist side during the civil wars, and Hayton Castle received a great deal of attention at the hands of the Cromwellians ; so much so that it is stated to have been rebuilt from the ground by his son

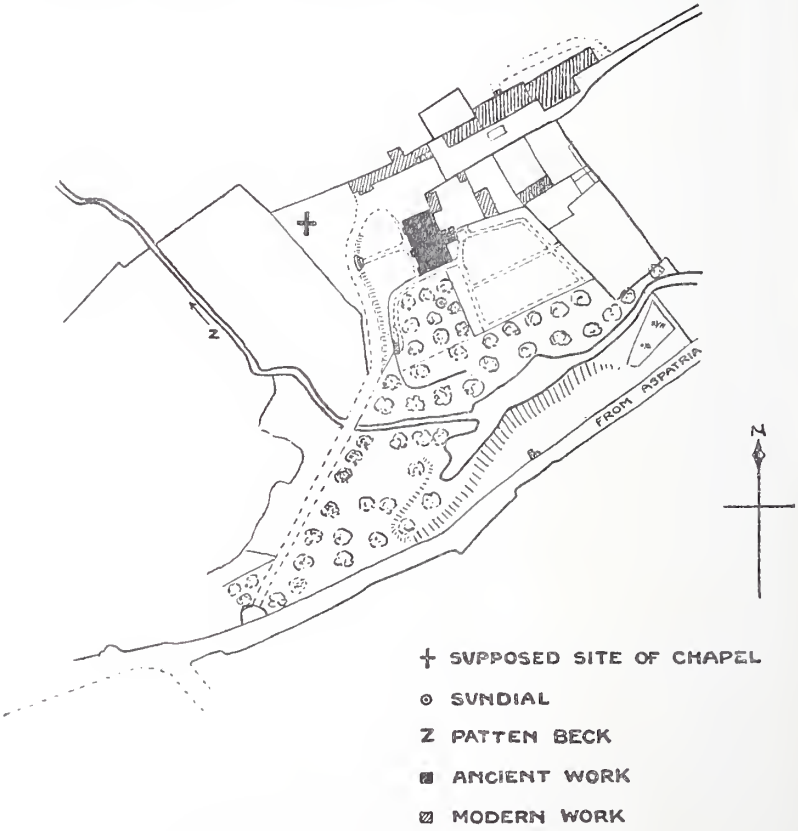
after the troubles were over, and it is hardly likely such glass as this would escape in a bombardment.

The theory which I offer you is that it was this Sir Richard Musgrave of Hayton who caused the glass to be made for the decoration of his house between the years 1660 and the time of his death in 1710; and that when Hayton Castle ceased to be anything but a farm-house, the glass was brought to Edenhall and placed in its present position in 1834, when the church was restored. And a final piece of evidence is that it was not in the church in Bishop Nicolson's time.

ART. XXII.—*Hayton Castle, Aspatria.* By J. H. MARTINDALE, F.R.I.B.A.

Read at the site, June 28th, 1912.

NEAR the centre of a rough parallelogram formed by the Roman Stations of Papcastle, Maryport, Mawbray and old Carlisle, is situated Hayton Castle, the *caput* or *aula* of a manor of the same name, held by



HAYTON CASTLE; SKETCH PLAN OF SITE.

families which have exercised important influence in the county for centuries. The site is comparatively open and unprotected, the only natural fortification being the small stream, called Patten Beck, on the south and west, from which the ground rises in a steep bank to the level plateau on which the castle has been placed. The other sides are open and unprotected by nature; any artificial defences which may have existed have been obliterated by modern farm-buildings, and at present there are no signs of earthworks or moat.

The manor is a small one in the important barony of Allerdale, and is said by John Denton (*Accompt*, ed. R. S. Ferguson, p. 42) to have been given by Alan, second lord of Allerdale, to his three huntsmen; their descendants took the name of "de Hayton." The term Haya or Haia in forest law signifies a hedge, hence an enclosure (F. H. M. Parker, *Pipe Rolls of Cumberland and Westmorland*, p. 211). Denton is quoting from the "Distributio Cumberlandiæ ad Conquestum Angliæ," or "Chronicon Cumbriæ," in the Register of Wetheral (see Prescott's *Wetherhal*, p. 387). Chancellor Prescott says that this is a late addition and that too much use has been made of it. But between 1269 and 1288 there was a grant or confirmation of a grant of the manor by Alice de Lucy, widow of Alan de Multon, daughter, and co-heiress with her sister Annabel, of Richard de Lucy, to Robert de Mulcaster. From this the descent of the manor is pretty clear. William de Mulcaster, son of the above Robert, was sheriff of Cumberland in 1298 to 1303 and 1305 to 1306. In John Denton's *Accompt of Cumberland*, Collections, No. 76 (p. 171 of R. S. Ferguson's edition), a William de Mulcastre, son of Robert de Mulcaster, makes a grant, relating to the manor of Whitehall, at Hayton in 1345. In Collections, No. 80 (p. 174), a Robert de Mulcastre, lord of Hayton, gives a charter relating to land at Threapland, which he had

from John de Hayton; this is in 1393, and therefore is giving a title of 100 years. In the margin of the Milbourne MS. copy of the *Accompt* is a sketch of a seal, showing a shield barry of ten, a bend, with the legend "+ S. robERTI de mulcasTROE." Again in Nos. 83, 84 and 93 of these Collections the Mulcasters appear, all in the reign of Henry IV., c. 1506.

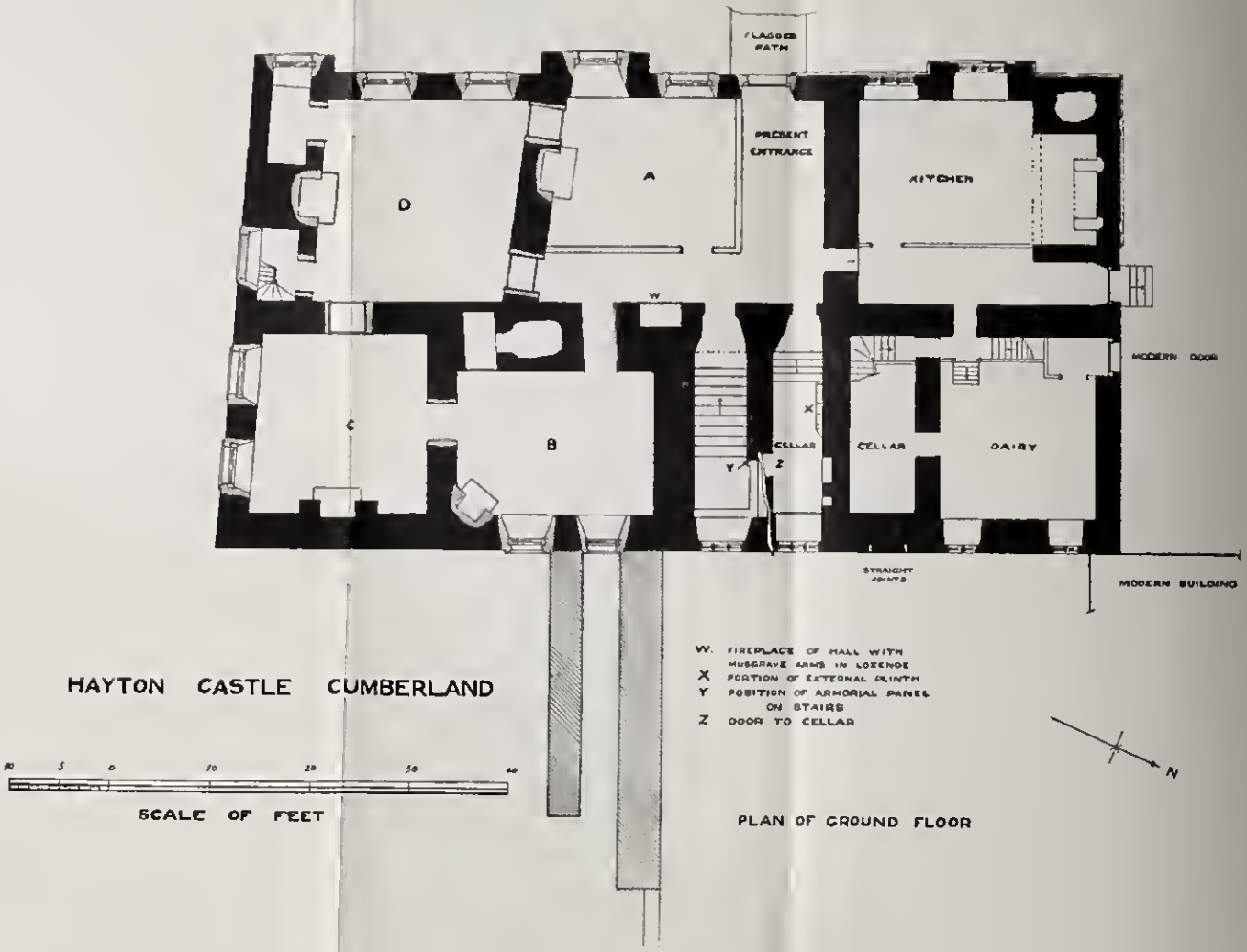
Members of the Mulcaster family seem to have been Knights of the Shire for Cumberland at various times during the fourteenth century.

After five generations of de Mulcasters, the Manor descended to Sir Piers de Tilliol, in the right of his wife, daughter of the last Robert de Mulcaster, in the reign of Henry VI. Whellan states (*Cumberland*, p. 207) that the Tilliols held the manor for *eight* descents, but apparently he has confused the manors of Hayton and Scaleby. The Tilliols held it only for the life of Sir Piers or Peter, and his daughter Isabella brought it to John Colvill of Torpenhow, who died in 1438,* only four years after Sir Piers. His son, William Colvill, died in 1479 leaving two daughters, both married to younger sons of Richard Musgrave of Edenhall, the elder daughter marrying the younger son. From this marriage of Margaret Colvill and Nicholas Musgrave, fourth son of Richard Musgrave of Edenhall, the property descended and continued in the Musgrave family for some ten generations (about 300 years) when it was brought by the marriage of a daughter to the ancestor of the present owner, Charles Hylton-Jolliffe, Esq.

It would be possibly the time of the de Mulcasters, that is the thirteenth and fourteenth century, before any important residence existed. I find no record of a licence

* The Rev. Thos. Hackworth, vicar of Aspatria, has kindly copied the inscription from the panel at the north end of the altar tomb in the Musgrave chapel at Aspatria Church. It reads:—

John Colvil + married
Isabel Tilliol + died A.D. 1438



HAYTON CASTLE CUMBERLAND

PLAN OF GROUND FLOOR

TO FACE PAGE 237.

to crenellate, although it is most probable that the building was crenellated, for it has been designated a castle from a very early period. Sir Piers de Tilliol died in 1434, and possibly did not reside much at Hayton; Scaleby Castle would be larger, stronger and more convenient. His grandson, William Colvill, held the property 40 years, during the middle of the fifteenth century, and there are considerable remains in the buildings of about this date, but nothing very much earlier unless it is the thick centre wall referred to below. When the young scion of Edenhall, in right of his wife, came he did not consider the house good enough for him, and the family of Musgrave are responsible for the building and its various alterations as seen to-day.

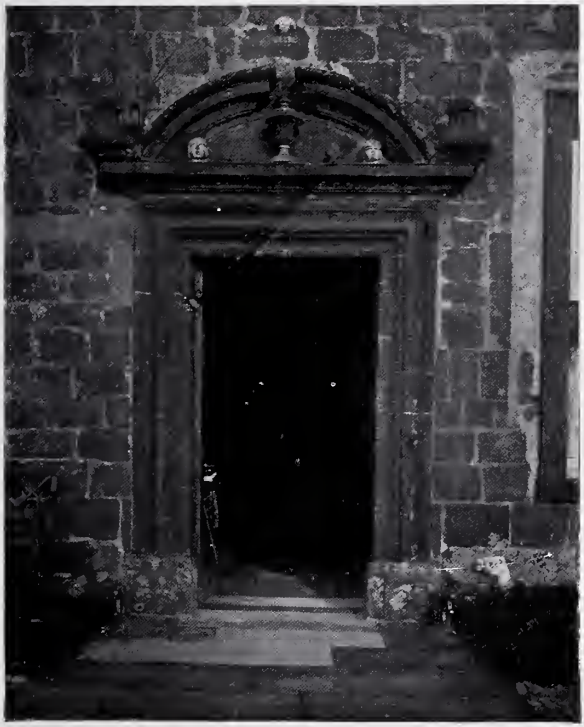
The present castle is a rectangle some 90 feet from north to south, and 50 feet from east to west. The entrance front is a little to the south of west, but for the purpose of this description is taken as west. The repeated alterations to windows, doors, and floors complicate the work of describing the plan. The north end of the building is the best preserved part of the original castle; the south end has undergone most reconstruction. In the centre is a curious wall, some 7 feet thick and very similar to the wall at Howgill Castle, in a corresponding position. On the ground floor in the north-west angle is the kitchen, 21 feet by 18 feet, lighted by two original mullioned and transomed windows of three lights each; the northern one projects 1 foot 3 inches and forms a square bay, without side lights, continued up all floors to the roof and parapet. The ingle fireplace exists, with chamfered segmental arch of 11 feet 6 inches span, the recess being 5 feet 4 inches deep, now fitted with a modern range. A passage has been partitioned off, and gives access to an external door in the north wall, an insertion of the sixteenth century. At the rear to the east of this kitchen is a room now used as the dairy,

2 feet 6 inches below the kitchen floor level, cut up by modern stairs to men-servants' bedrooms, with a recent external door at the ground level. Opening out on the south side of this dairy is a narrow vaulted cellar. This end of the building is three stories in height, and in the west part retains the old floor-levels and windows, but in the east part the floors and windows are very much disturbed, and the roof has been raised.

In the north wall of the rooms on both floors over the kitchen are two mural chambers or garderobes. On the first floor over the dairy is a seventeenth century fireplace, not fitting the present level of floor. Above this again, on the second floor at the top of the red stair, built into an old window in the east wall, is a stone with the following inscription :—

This Chapel was repaired at ye proper cost of Anne Musgrave third daughter of Sir Richard Musgrave Baronet and Dame Dorothy his wife in ye year Anno Domini 1719.

The present entrance-door is of late seventeenth century date (see opposite), and is part of the so-called rebuilding by Sir Richard Musgrave (father of the above Anne) after the restoration of the monarchy. It is quite clear that Sir Richard did not rebuild from the foundations as stated in several works, but only altered windows, doors, and floor-levels ; he possibly may have added the rooms at the south-east angle and changed the main entrance from east to west, making the present drive and semicircular steps and, as was the fashion at this period, making all the rooms communicate with each other more or less. The present entrance passage and room A (see plan) were the hall (28 feet long by 20 feet wide) of the fifteenth century castle, with three windows to the west similar in character to the kitchen, one being a similar projecting square bay. The jambs of



FIREPLACE WITH THE MUSGRAVE ARMS AND ENTRANCE-DOOR, HAYTON CASTLE.

Phot. by C. J. F. Martindale. TO FACE P. 238.

ARMORIAL PANEL ON THE STAIRS,
HAYTON CASTLE.

Phot. by C. J. F. Martindale.

TO FACE P. 239.

some of the windows remain. The fireplace was in the east wall of this room, now in the centre of the building, which is the thick wall before mentioned. The opening of the fireplace is boarded up (see illustration), but the great chimney-shaft, some 4 feet by 2 feet, can be seen in the attic, inside the roof, and is popularly believed to be the entrance to the dungeon. Above this fireplace and mantel-piece, which is of seventeenth century date, is a lozenge, therefore belonging to a female, with the Musgrave arms without the cadency mark, possibly erected by the Anne Musgrave who repaired the chapel. The ceilings of this hall and the adjoining rooms were raised at the time of the seventeenth century work. In the north-east angle of this hall is a doorway now leading to a larder, some five steps (2 feet 6 inches) down; I think the original entrance to the castle must have been here. The cellar has a barrel vault, but there remains in it, on the north wall, a portion of an external plinth corresponding to the existing one on the west front. To the south of this cellar is a small, low, square-headed door, 2 feet 5 inches wide, 4 feet 6 inches high, with the dressings on the outside, leading into a cellar under the present stair. There are also blocked-up recesses which may have been loops to the cellar on the north side before mentioned, opening out of the dairy.

To the north of the great fireplace in the central thick wall a door leads to the main stair of stone. The stair is probably in the original position, but the lower flights have been altered to fit in with the changed floor-levels of the seventeenth century alterations. It consists of two straight flights, with three steps on the landing; and on the wall of the landing at top of the first flight is a fine armorial slab (see opposite), alas, now painted to represent granite. The arms are those of Sir Edward Musgrave, Knt., impaling those of his wife Catherine Penruddock, with helmet, crest, and mantelling. The

crest is not the Musgrave crest * ; it is a stag trippant, chained and gorged, differenced by a martlet on the shoulder. The panel is dated, and bears the following inscription :—

LAVS . TIBI DN̄E REX . GL ORIE .	This is above shield divided by helmet, and the letters are curious.
A° Dō 1609	
PRECOR . VT . SIMVS MEMORES . BENEFICI . ORVM . ERGA . NOS .	Below shield.

Sir Edward and his wife erected the large monument to the family in Aspatria Church the year before, 1608. He was lord lieutenant and custos rotulorum of Cumberland. This Sir Edward repaired Scaleby Castle, and if the panel is *in situ*, it would indicate work here of which several of the blocked-up windows are the remains. The stair is lighted by two mullion windows of three lights, but without transoms. At the top of the second flight of this stair, the upper part of the original wheel stair, of 3 feet 8 inches diameter, remains and leads up to the rooms of the second floor, terminating in the roof. It has been corbelled out on the east side, and is in the central wall before mentioned.

Leading off the foot of this wheel stair is a small room, with a blocked-up window in the south wall, next to the room over B, proving this wall to have been at some time an external one, and that the panelled room is an addition. The rooms B and C with rooms over are, I think, seventeenth century additions by Sir Richard

* In Tonge's Visitation, 1530, p. 52, n. 3 :—" on the signet of Sir Simon Musgrave of Edenhall in 1584, the usual crest, *two arms in armour proper grasping a golden annulet*, enclose a stag lodged" ; and, p. 37, n. 3 :—" This roebuck occurs on Hilton Castle above the arms as a badge. There it is ducally gorged and chained." The crest is puzzling ; the cadency mark is correct for the descent from the main line of Edenhall. Sir Simon was contemporary with Sir Edward, but the family connection with the Hiltons was not until some 150 years later.

THE WEST FRONT, HAYTON CASTLE.

Phot. by C. J. F. Martindale.

TO FACE P. 240.

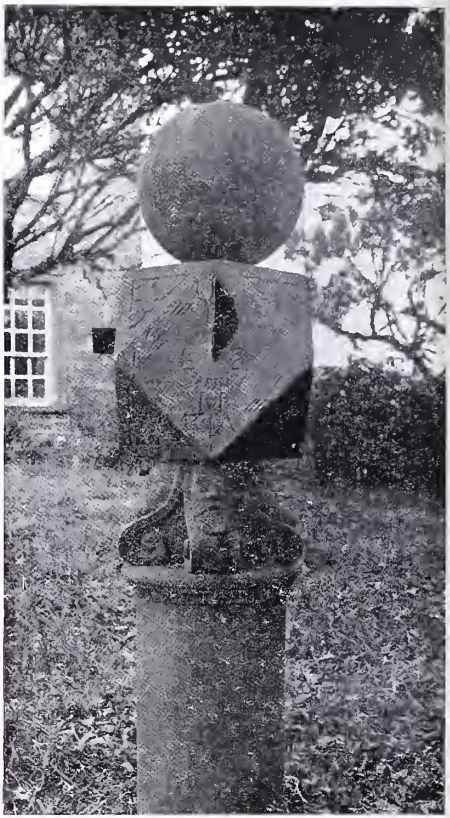
THE EAST FRONT, HAYTON CASTLE.

Musgrave. The room B and the first floor over are both panelled the full height, with late seventeenth century wide panel framing. Room D in the south-west angle is rather curious; it is possibly part of the original house, but has been very much altered. The wall dividing it from the hall is at an angle, not square. The south wall may be the remains of a very thick wall with mural chambers corresponding with the north wall of the kitchen at the other end of the façade, but the mural chambers have been altered and enlarged, and one converted into a wooden stair. The architraves, skirtings, chair rail and wood finishings generally in this room are very fine and enriched with carved members, all of eighteenth century character, now painted.

This end of the castle seems to have suffered most in the siege by the Parliamentarian forces; it is the least protected from attack, and evidently is the part referred to as being rebuilt by Sir Richard. The first floor over this part of the building has been divided by modern partitions; the room over B is panelled as below, and the entrance to the room over C is cut in the centre of the thick wall, and this may be by enlarging a mural chamber. The second floor is almost entirely in the roof, and most of the windows are blocked up.

Externally, the west front shows the original fifteenth century oversailing course of a parapet, but the original coping has been replaced by a seventeenth century cornice, the parapet being raised a course, as may be seen at the gables. The kitchen block retains the fifteenth century windows on each floor, which have square labels, those over the second floor windows being worked in with the oversailing course (see view of west front). The door is seventeenth century, and the remaining windows to the south have been altered at least twice, but the earlier jambs are visible in several places, proving that the walls have not been rebuilt. The south and part

NORTH FACE.



SOUTH FACE.

THE SUNDIAL, HAYTON CASTLE.

Phot. by C. J. F. Martindale.

TO FACE P. 243.

inside the castle, though I have not seen any room which might have been a chapel.

Mary Queen of Scots passed the night at the castle on the 17th May, 1568, and presented to Sir Edward Musgrave a miniature forming the centre of a plain gold ring, showing the bust turned to the right, three-quarter face, with white fur collar to dress, single row necklace, black coif, and blue background. This ring has been handed down in the family ever since.

ART. XXIII.—*The Abbey of St. Mary, Holme Cultram; recent investigations and notes on the ancient roof.* By J. H. MARTINDALE, F.R.I.B.A.

Read at the site, June 27th, 1912.

THE great Cistercian house of St. Mary, Holme Cultram, was the largest monastic house in Cumberland. Its revenue at the dissolution amounted to very nearly one-third of the whole revenue of the Order in England. It will, next July, be forty years since this Society first visited the remains, and the paper then read on the site by the late Mr. C. J. Ferguson is in these *Transactions*, O.S., i. Mr. Ferguson endeavoured to trace the plan and extent of the Abbey Church from excavations which had then been made. Later accounts were published by the Rev. Arthur Ashworth and by the Rev. G. E. Gilbanks (*Some Records of a Cistercian Abbey*, 1899).

Since that time, thanks to the efforts of our member, Mr. Grainger, in 1906, further excavations were undertaken; the crossing, the east end of the church, and also several parts of the monastic buildings and south transept have been discovered and the outline extent definitely settled (see article by Mrs. T. H. Hodgson in these *Transactions*, N.S., vii., and paper read by the Rev. W. Baxter on the visit of the British Archæological Association in July, 1908).

All these recent investigations confirm and verify, as far as they extend, the dimensions (given in yards) in the "old document" frequently referred to in the above papers. The church was undoubtedly a cross church with aisle-less choir, and from the discoveries at the extreme east end it appears that this portion had been rebuilt and extended in the Early English period, as was

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY BASES COVERING EARLIER BASES, NORTH PIER, HOLME CULTRAM.

Phot. by C. J. F. Martindale.

TO FACE P. 244.

NORTH-EAST PIER OF CROSSING, SHOWING FLOOR LEVEL AND STEP, HOLME CULTRAM.

so commonly done with Norman chancels. The dressed lower courses of the buttresses at the north-east angle show clearly the two buttresses, rising separately on each face, of some 5 feet projection, and not the usual Norman buttress of small projection capping the angle. This east wall was 7 feet thick; the dressed face was found both inside and outside at a depth of 3 feet 9 inches below the level of the present floor of the church.

At the crossing, the floor and steps were found, which gave the present floor of the nave as 1 foot 5 inches above the original floor, and the choir floor as two steps above the nave. The lower part of the main arch of the central tower into the north transept has been closed by a solid masonry screen or wall, and the jambs of an early door exist 2 feet 9 inches high, but as the wall covers the bases of the north-east pier of the crossing, which are a little earlier in character, it is possible the door is not in its original position, but has been removed here, at a later date.

The north pier of the crossing has been very much altered. A singular seventeenth century base now covers the earlier bases, and is formed apparently to receive coupled rectangular pilasters. It is very difficult to suggest at which recorded reconstruction these pilasters were erected, but possibly by Mr. Mandeville, though they seem a little later than 1600. At the south end of the south transept the remains of a door leading to the slype exist some 3 or 4 courses high, and the level indicates three steps down from the original floor-level of the nave. There were two very perfect mason marks on the stones of this door. At a distance of 27 feet from the south wall of the transept, walls were discovered of the chapter house, and these walls are at an angle with the church, very similar to those of the chapter house at Easby. The chapter house was apparently rectangular, which indicates early date, so that probably

it is the building of the original foundation, that is to say, Norman.

There are also the remains of a wheel stair in exactly similar position to the one at Easby in the north wall of the chapter house. No doubt across the west end of this chapter house and over the slype would be a passage or gallery giving access from the dormitory to the night stair in the south transept.

To the south west of the church, about 172 feet distant, is an interesting block of buildings now used as cottages. The external door shown at W on plan has the following on the head :—a rose in the centre with the date 1664, and on a shield on the dexter side R.F. and on the sinister side F.F.—which Mr. Grainger thinks stand for Robert Fayrish and his wife Frances. The date is interesting as giving a slight indication as to the uses the conventual buildings were put to during the period, between Mr. Mandeville's description and Bishop Nicolson's account at his Visitation. The small circular bay window at X on plan has once lighted a room now divided, but formerly a large apartment or hall, with wide fireplace and stone dressings to the internal door-openings. The great chimney-stack is weathered up the whole way from the fireplace on the east side. There is also a very small window to the east, shown at Z on the plan : it seems to have lighted a store or closet. This block of buildings, judging from the remains of early plinths at various parts, must originally have formed portions of the conventional buildings, possibly the infirmary, or the mill as the stream runs just below. Further west again, on the other side of the road, is a fragment of very ancient wall now incorporated in a barn.

It is very difficult, owing to the interments, to excavate along the lines of the walls inside the churchyard, and outside in an adjoining field the foundations have been robbed of all the facing stones.

DOOR AT W IN PLAN :

Phot. by C. J. F. Martindale.

WINDOW AT X IN PLAN :

HOLME CULTRAM.

TO FACE P. 246.

NORTH END OF PRINCIPAL, SHOWING MODERN CEILING, ROOF AND SUPPORTS : WINDOW AT Z IN PLAN : HOLME CULTRAM.

Phot. by C. J. F. Martindale.

TO FACE P. 247.

All these investigations, however, were confined to work now buried below the ground, and it seems to have been quite unknown that very extensive parts of the ancient roof remained concealed by the modern slate roof and ceiling. Between these internal and external outlines, absolutely out of sight, very fine parts of a much earlier oak roof exist. These portions can only be seen by removing the external slates and dropping down into the centre of the roof. The photographs were taken by artificial light under the roof.

The remains consist of fifteen fine oak principals, 27 feet 6 inches long between the walls, with massive tiebeams 12 inches by 9 inches and cambered in centre 13 inches deep, king post 12 inches by 6 inches, principal rafters 10 inches by 6 inches, and intermediate strutts 7 inches by 4 inches. All these are dressed, and the tie beam is chamfered on the lower edge, stopped very close to the wall. The original ridge, 5 inches by 4 inches, exists in four bays, and has the notches for the rafters.

The mortices for the purlins indicate two purlins about 6 inches by 6 inches, on each side of the pitch. In many cases the purlins have been cut off and the tenon remains, and it is quite clear, from the mortices which remain in the tie beams, that the purlins had curved longitudinal strutts. This latter feature is a very common one in the magnificent open timber roofs of East Anglia, but is not so common in the North. The principals are at present spaced variously from 6 feet to 8 feet apart, which distance gives about two to each bay of the arcade; but from the fact of the mortices for strutts to the purlins, I think the principals have been spaced at some time wider apart. Some of the old purlins have been used as a continuous wall-plate under the principals on top of the wall, and these shew the mortices for the strutts. These have

been very carefully dovetailed together. The pitch of this roof was 12½ degrees.

To understand clearly, and attempt to date these remains, it is necessary to examine chronologically the records of the various destructions by fire and storm. In 1538, on the dissolution of the monastery, the inhabitants of the parish entreated successfully for the preservation of the abbey church for their use, stating that it was not only "little ynoughe to receyve all us, your poore Orators, but also a greate ayde, socor, and defence for us agenst our neghbors the Scots." From this I think it is clear that the parishioners desired to preserve the whole monastic church—nave, aisles, transepts, and choir—not only the nave, or what is occasionally thought to be the parochial portion. This petition was granted, and for 50 years, from about 1540 to 1590, the parishioners enjoyed and used the whole of the noble church, which exceeded Carlisle Cathedral in total length by about twenty feet, and then possessed its stalls, screens and wood-work, no doubt in keeping with the scale and character of the building and masonry. In 1579 the east window had been damaged and the chancel or east end was in a state of decay. Mr. Mandeville seems to have blocked up and repaired the east window, and at this date the roof must have been on the whole of the choir.

In 1590 we have the account of the accident on May 14th, given by Mr. Mandeville. Three stones fell from the vault of the central tower and damaged his *stall* and also the "commōn table." This confirms the existence at this date of the screens and stalls, and proves that there was an altar west of the screens in the nave. The next year the chancel or choir of the conventual church was still in use (or mis-use), probably only for the clergy, because Mr. Mandeville complains about the jangling and talking during divine service in this part of the

STRUTT, UPPER PURLIN AND SUPPORTS FOR BOTH CEILING AND ROOF : HOLME CULTRAM.

Phot. by C. J. F. Martindale.

TO FACE P 248.

END OF PRINCIPAL RESTING ON NORTH WALL AND SHOWING NOTCHES FOR PURLIN NEAREST EAVES, HOLME CULTRAM.

Phot. by C. J. F. Martindale.

TO FACE P. 249

building,* and therefore moves the whole of the services to the "low church," that is to the nave and aisles west of the crossing, which he repaired for the purpose. This was done in 17th October, 1591.

About eight years later, on 1st January, 1600, the central tower fell and brought down a great part of the chancel, including the timber of the roof. In two years the damage seems to some extent to have been repaired at a cost of £180. This good work was again undone by the carelessness of a plumber † in carrying a candle into the roof and the neglect of the churchwardens in allowing a daw's nest in the same, and in three hours fire destroyed

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* "In the Chancell there were māye corneres where in people were alwayes jangling and talking in tyme of devine sēvice which abuse I thought to redrese for the honor of God."

The ritual choir was a very large one and the number of the clergy using it, after the dissolution, very much smaller, so that the congregation might, in many cases, be free from observation.

† As to this workman being a plumber, our member, Mr. Grainger, writes me as follows :—

I do not think that Christopher Harding was a plumber. He was a resident in the neighbourhood, he and his family. They were employed by Mr. Mandeville, more or less, to take part with him in the Tithe Suits against the tenants and the charge against him was, that he purposely set the Church on fire making the excuse that he was looking for a chisel. The following extract from a Petition of two tenants John Clene and John Huddart tells something of himself and family. It is addressed to the Counsel employed by tenants against the University and is dated 24th April 1604. Sir Arthur Atye, Lessee of the University, brought forward certain witnesses which are certainly not flattering.

"Cuthbert Studdham a backward person in all this neghborhead as well as most Slanderos fornycater and for the same facts or offence was ponissed ackording to ye lawes by peanance in open church and walketh naked from ye waist. Thomas Harding a most quareling p.son and a great broker and p.curer of this unnecessarie suit and many others and as well are extreme extirtioners as is plainly declared by an information exhibited in ye Baron of ye Exchequer—and John Harding his cousin a lyck quarriling fellow and a prinsepell present with his cousin John Harding sonne to ye said Thomas Harding in ye slaughter of Rychard Glaister and for the same faickt fled and was not to be found.

"An unlawful agrement was maid with ye said Glaisters father and friends but as yeat no satisfaction to ye King for want of his subject and also this John Hardings younger brother named Xtopher Harding and being the Sarvent upon Wednesday being the XVIII day of this instant April 1604 hathe burnt and waysted all ye old church and chancel of Holme Cultram and for the same sacke is fled and cannot be found as well for ye said John Harding being sarvent with or' wicked Vicker Mandevell was by pishoners to ever ripe and break opening ye leades of or' church as he did, but he would not be bidden answering that Mr. Vicker Mandevell had so commanded him to dowe his commandment he would obey and p.forme for dyspit of any p.shoners whatsoever."

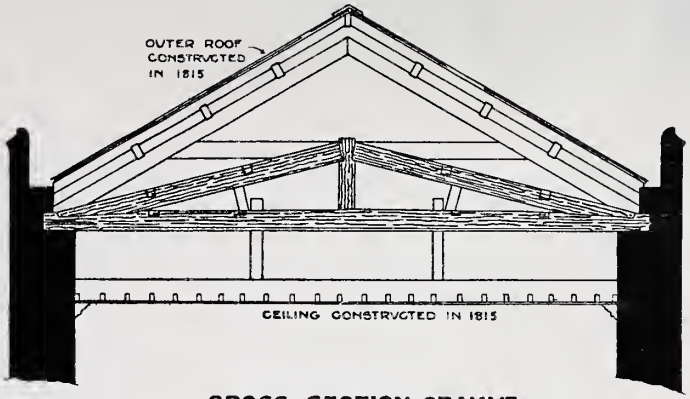
both the body of the chancel and the whole church except the south side of the low church.

I think the damage done to the roof cannot have been so extensive as the descriptions seem to imply, for the total cost of repairing the chancel was only £88, whereas ten years before it had been double. It is possible that all the stall work and screens were destroyed at this time and not renewed.

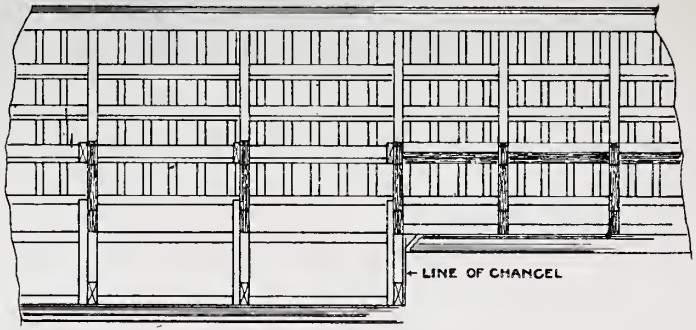
In 1593, apparently, most of the roofs were covered with lead, and therefore were the early low-pitched ones. Now for 100 years we have very little information of the structure, but when Bishop Nicolson visited the church, he says, the parishioners had taken the lead off the south aisle to repair the north. This does not imply that the south aisle was left uncovered or open, but simply that the outer covering was removed and the vaulting, which the Bishop calls "Arching," formed the only roof. The Bishop goes on to say that the body of the church or nave of nine arches only was standing, therefore at some time during this period a division wall had been erected dividing the nave from the east end. He also mentions that parts of the roof had been repaired with slates, not lead.

About twenty-five or thirty years later the decayed state of the building was worse, and Dr. Waugh took down the clerestory, removed the side aisles, and three bays at the east end of the nave, and re-roofed with lead the large middle aisle. Although the roofs are now slated the fifteen principals of Dr. Waugh's roof for the middle aisle, which he covered with lead, remain inside the present roof. But are not these principals very much older than 1730? In my opinion they are the original main roof timbers of the monastic church before the dissolution, and Dr. Waugh's builders simply lowered them down to their present position, placing as a continuous wall-plate the purlins and other timbers from the roof of the eastern limb of the church which was now

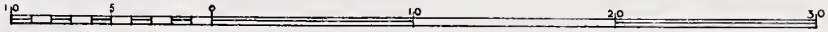
HOLME CVLTRAM ABBEY



CROSS SECTION OF NAVE



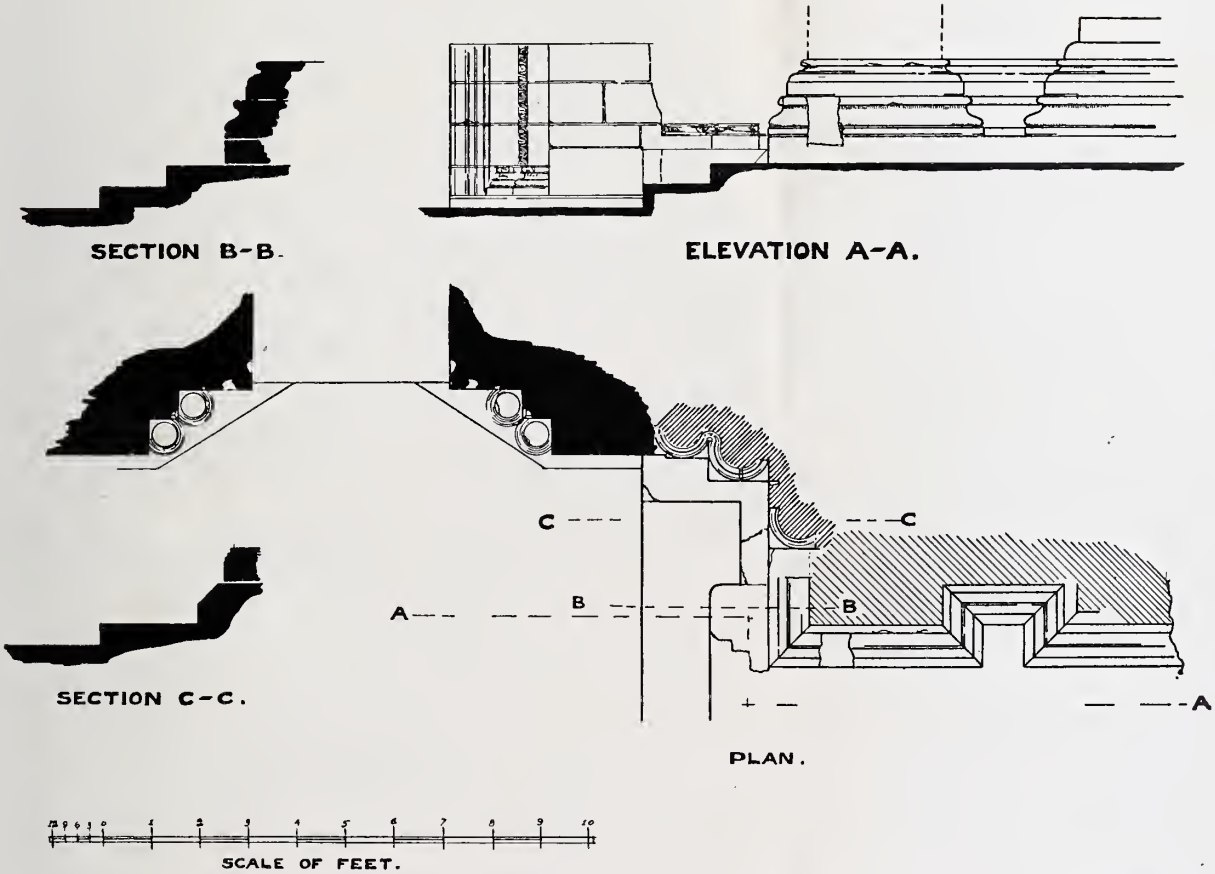
PART LONGITVDINAL SECTION OF NAVE & CHANCEL



SCALE OF FEET

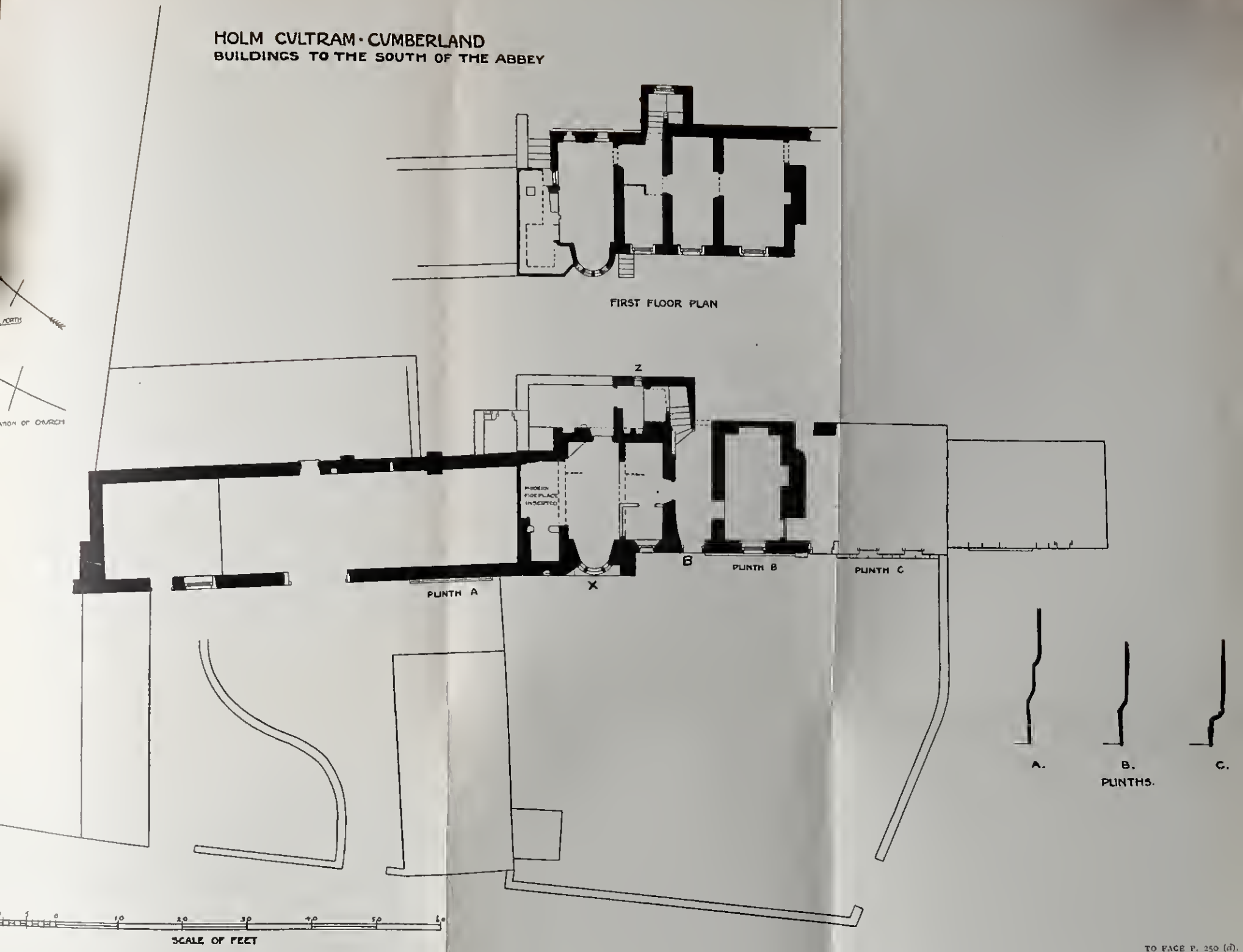
TO FACE P. 250 (*a*).

HOLM CULTRAM ABBEY
NORTH EAST PIER OF CROSSING



TO FACE P. 250 (*b*).

HOLM CULTRAM · CUMBERLAND
BUILDINGS TO THE SOUTH OF THE ABBEY



TO FACE P. 250 (d).

removed. Dr. Waugh retained the old external outline of the roof and covered it with lead, and the grooves for the flashings remain on the inside of the west wall to-day.

Mr. F. Grainger, of Southerfield, has kindly given me the extracts from the parish records, which he knows so well, of a grant of timber from Wedholme at this time, and one principal has a tie beam of very inferior material which seems to indicate renewal.

We are thankful to find that when the plaster ceiling was erected and the roof slated they did not fix, as was often done, the ceiling joists to the oak tie beams, but inserted large main transverse beams supported from the principals, to carry the new ceiling quite clear of the old roof principals, so that they were left intact, and able to give their history plainly 180 years later; and also built up supports on the top of the old principals, to give the necessary steeper pitch for a slated roof, except in the case of the easternmost one, which has been mutilated to get the hipped outline for the east end.

As mentioned before, the purlins had longitudinal strutts, and this seems to indicate that the principals were rather wider apart than at present; and if so, no doubt Dr. Waugh selected the best of all the old principals from both nave and choir to use in the contracted portion he was repairing. In any case he had those from the three destroyed bays of the nave.

Mr. Gilbanks in "Some Records of a Cistercian Abbey" claims for Holme Cultram that it is one of only three Cistercian monastic churches used at the present day for Anglican service, the other two being Beaulieu and Abbey Dore. I doubt whether any other in England possesses the original roof timbers of the monastic church before the Dissolution.

Art. XXIV.—*Kirkbampton Church.* By J. H. Martindale, F.R.I.B.A.

Read at the Church, June 27th, 1912.

THE church of Kirkbampton, dedicated to St. Peter, is a very typical Cumberland church, both in plan and character.

The chancel arch and north door, both being original and *in situ*, fix the dimensions of the early church pretty definitely, and we may be assured the original church consisted of nave and chancel, in all probability as at present.

I have not found any recorded date of the foundation, but we know a church was existing in the twelfth century, for a clergyman of "Banton" is mentioned in a charter (No. 73) in the "Register of Wetheral," which Chancellor Prescott dates *not later* than 1195. The architectural character of the chancel arch and north door is consistent with this date, so we may assume the building to be more than 700 years old.

The present church consists of a nave, 36 feet 6 inches long by 19 feet wide, and chancel, 27 feet long by 12 feet 6 inches wide. The chancel arch is semicircular, 7 feet wide, and has carved capitals to both piers, and the north and south vary.

One of the original narrow round-headed Norman windows remains in the chancel, and one was taken out some 20 years ago to make room for the arch to the organ chamber on the north side, and is now rebuilt in the new gable. There is a small low-side window on the north side of the chancel and a priest's door on the south side.

Over the north entrance door is a sculptured tympanum inside the early arch. It is illustrated and described in

THE CHANCEL ARCH, KIRKBAMPTON.

Phot. by C. J. F. Martindale.

TO FACE P. 252.

THE TYMPANUM, KIRKBAMPTON CHURCH.

TO FACE P 253.

Mr. Calverley's book *Early Sculptured Crosses* and in Mr. C. W. Keyser's *Norman Tympana*. We have only three examples of these tympana in Cumberland, two in Westmorland, and one in Lancashire north of the Sands. The one at Pennington, Lancashire, is now built in the wall of a farm, and has been described by the late Mr. Harper Gaythorpe in these *Transactions*, N.S., iii. The two in Westmorland are both in Longmarton Church, and have been described by the late Mr. Lees in these *Transactions*, O.S., v. Of the three in Cumberland, one is at Bridekirk, now built into a modern church, described by Mr. Calverley, these *Transactions*, O.S., xi.; the second at St. Bees (more a sculptured lintel than a tympanum), figured in *Early Sculptured Crosses*, and this one at Kirkbampton, *in situ*, with its surrounding arch, and probably the most perfect of them all. These tympana are generally dated as between 1080-1200. The subjects were various, taken from both the Old and New Testaments, the most common possible being the Agnus Dei in a Vesica. They were occasionally decorated. They were always placed over the most important entrance to the church, and at this early period there does not seem to have been that objection to a *North* door which we find later. The subject here has been variously described as a Bishop or an Abbot or David with his crook and sling fighting the lion and bear, a favourite subject in early Christian art.* It has suffered very much from the weather, and is not now easy to decipher, but seems to be a figure and animals.

Bishop Nicolson, in his visitation of 1703, mentions *two* bells, stating that "one is cracked." There are at present two bells, one cast in 1705, two years after the Bishop's visitation, and therefore probably the cracked one recast;

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* See J. Romilly Allen, F.S.A., *Christian Symbolism*, pp. 203-208, and *Early Sculptured Crosses in the Diocese of Carlisle*, p. 214, from which the illustration is borrowed.

the other is a modern one. What has become of the second bell (the smaller one) mentioned by Bishop Nicolson? The Rev. H. Whitehead has described the bells in these *Transactions*, O.S., ix.

A Roman stone, 14 inches by $10\frac{3}{4}$ inches, was found in the walls during the restoration in 1870-71, and is now built into the south wall of the chancel. It bears the following inscription:—VEX. LEG. VI. P.F. FEC. This has no doubt been brought from "The Wall."

ART. XXV.—*Crosscanonby Church.* By the REV. W. J. MARSH, M.A.

Read at the Church June 28th, 1912.

IN setting down these notes of the old church of Crosscanonby I very gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to Mr. J. B. Bailey, of Maryport, who has from time to time furnished me with the results of researches made by him and bearing on the subject. I have also incorporated information gathered from the late Canon Bower, who was Incumbent here at the time of the restoration of the church in 1880.

The present church, dedicated in the name of S. John the Evangelist, would seem to date back to somewhere about the year 1100. A keen archæologist (the Revd. E. A. Fishbourne, Vicar of Gresford, North Wales) who visited the church some four years ago said that he would have judged it, from the roughness of the stone and the rudeness of the scanty bits of ornamentation, to have been of even earlier date; but, he added, "the absence of mouldings and carving makes it very difficult to get hold of a clue." The church is built of Roman hewn stones, and consisted originally of Norman nave and chancel. The arch to the chancel and the window in the south wall of the same are good specimens of early Norman work. An aisle was added in the thirteenth century by the insertion of an elliptical arch in the south wall of the nave, without interfering with the roof. In this wall was an old Norman window, the top of which still remains where it was cut into by the arch. The aisle is connected with the chancel by a small arch—on the west side of which a considerable portion has been cut away in the manner of a squint.

About 1130 or 1150 Alan, second lord of Allerdale, gave the patronage of the church, together with a carucate of land and all the tithes and other things to the said church belonging, as far as the water of Alne (the river Ellen), to the Priory of Carlisle. There is a local tradition, not confirmed by known records, that a small college of canons from the Priory was established here, and from them that part of the manor of Crosby in which the church stands obtained its further appellation of Canonby. No actual date can be assigned to the forming of this conventual establishment, for it would seem to be clear that the farm-house adjoining the churchyard, and known as Canonby Hall, is not the original monastery. A date-stone over the fireplace of one of the rooms of the Hall, removed some few years ago to Dovenby Hall and now lost, was said to bear the figures 1167. It is now considered that this is an error, and that the actual date on the stone was 1567.

At the restoration of the church in 1880, on the plaster being removed, it was found that the whole of the interior walls had been covered with texts, etc. ; Bishop Nicolson said (*Miscellany Accounts*, p. 87) that these were painted in 1670. No piscina was found in the chancel, but two lockers were discovered in the south wall about 2 feet from the present floor level. It must be remembered that according to Bishop Nicolson (1703) the altar space was lower than the rest of the chancel. There is a similar locker at the east end of the aisle wall. Prior to 1880 the north door of the church had been half walled up and the rest glazed. In opening it out a fragment of the shaft of a red sandstone cross was found, about 21 inches long, by some 12 inches broad decreasing to 10 inches, carved on all its four sides. On one side is a series of vigorously carved animals, each with three legs, and each twisted backwards so as to grasp its own body in its great jaws. On another side is a wildly twisted dragon,

S THE FOUR SIDES OF THE RED-SANDSTONE SHAFT, CROSSCANONBY.

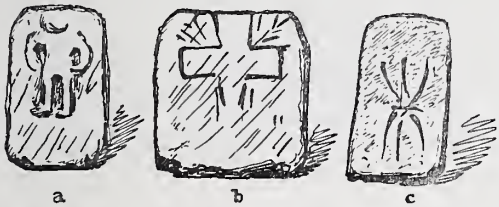
THE "ST. LAWRENCE" SLAB,
CROSSCANONBY.

TO FACE P. 259.

described as having the head of a ravenous wolf with a long tail. The body seems then to form itself into a coiling snake with another tail. Towards the end the body takes the human form (the man-devil) and divides below the loins into the legs of a man bound at the ankles with a ring. This was said, by the late Rev. W. S. Calverley, to form the Scandinavian Hell-wolf, and the Christian man-devil bound, the whole symbolising the destruction of evil by faith in the Cross of Christ.

A monumental stone was found in digging a drain near the north wall of the chancel. It has a human figure upon it, supposed (from a square on the dexter side said to represent the Book of the Gospels, and a device like a gridiron above the man) to be S. Lawrence, Deacon and Martyr. The late Canon Knowles says of it, "It is very early with an almost Roman broaching. I see nothing in it which may not be of the 6th century." Canon Bower, however, in 1909 (these *Transactions*, N.S., ix., p. 7) left the question of its date unanswered.

The mill-stone head of a white stone cross fell out of the interior of a wall in repairing a window. There is a similar fragment at Dearham. Free-armed crosses of this type are prior to the Norse invasion. Another stone of early but uncertain date, a quern, a half quern, and a stone with a cross incised on it were also found. Finally,



a b c

THREE SIDES OF THE STONE WITH INCISED CROSS (b), FIGURE (a), AND THUNDERBOLT SYMBOL (c); CROSSCANONBY.

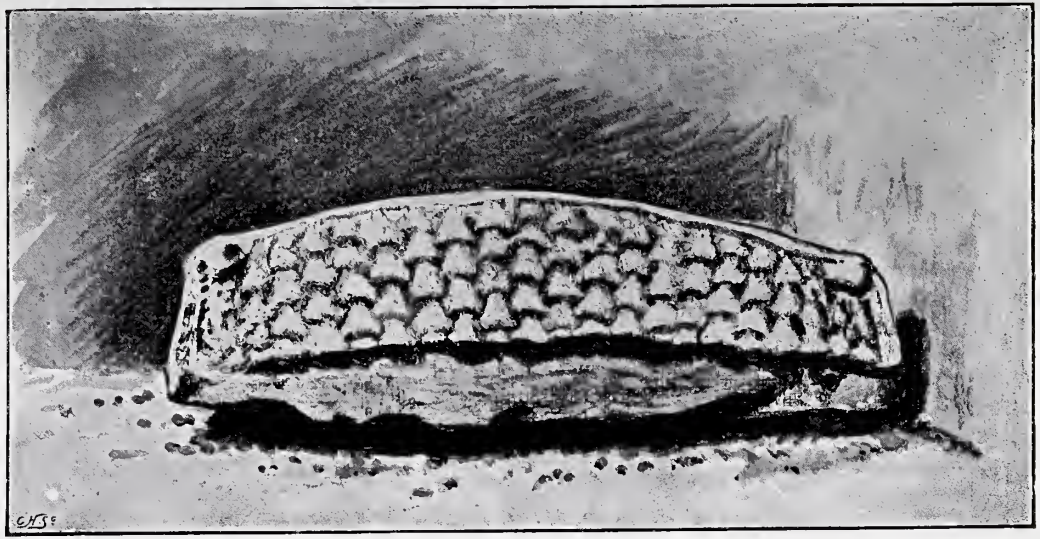
there is a great coped tombstone or pre-Norman hogback. It is of red sandstone, 6 feet long, 21 inches high at centre

and 17 inches broad. The chain pattern on it is almost identical with the Dearham cross.

I said the present church is of Norman foundation. The evidence of the sculptured stones which I have just described points clearly to the existence of a previous church—the millstone head carries us back possibly to the eighth century. It is perhaps too wild a flight of the imagination to think of S. Ninian, c. 397, but may not S. Kentigern, c. 600, have preached here?

NOTE ON THE PRE-NORMAN REMAINS AT CROSSCANONBY, BY THE EDITOR.

To class these stones according to present knowledge of an extended series of such monuments throughout the north of England, some reconsideration of dates formerly given is necessary. The earliest is the fragment of free-armed cross-head, with the "lorgnette" derived from Northallerton and other Yorkshire sites through Carlisle, where a good example exists. That cross is closely connected with the Ormside cup, which was *patched* (as Mr. Thurlow Leeds shows) c. 900. This then may be of the middle of the ninth century, or possibly somewhat earlier. The hogback and red shaft are characteristic of the Viking age in Northumbria, and of the tenth century. The fragment with a rude figure, cross and "thunderbolt" pattern, hardly looks like part of a cross-shaft; it may be, as I suggested in *Early Sculptured Crosses*, a trial piece, or it may be a very rude attempt at a grave-monument of uncertain though late pre-Norman type. The slab, to which the name of St. Lawrence has been attached on very slender evidence, is also very rude work without sufficient ornament to date it conclusively. But it may be as early as the later part of the eleventh century: no such slabs are known as early as the sixth, and there is no resemblance between this and Anglian art before the Viking age. We have, however, evidence that a church existed here shortly after 800 A.D. and continued in existence thenceforward, in spite of the Viking invasions and settlement.

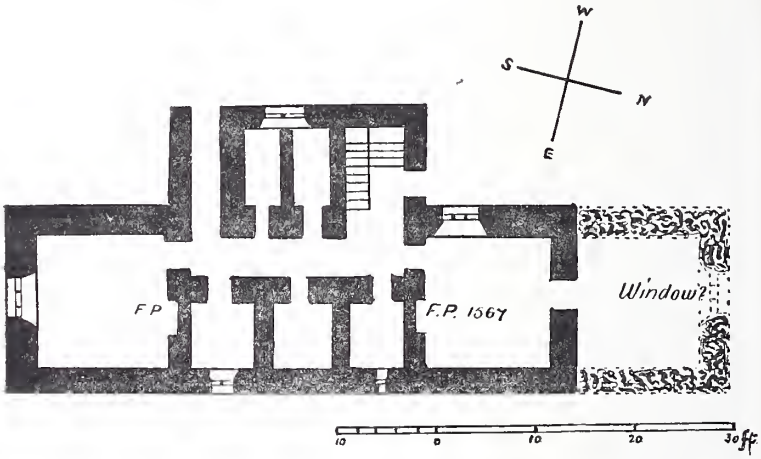


THE HOGBACK, CROSSCANONBY. TO FACE P. 260.

Art. XXVI.—*Crosscanonby Hall.* By J. B. Bailey.

BY the kind invitation of Mr. Robert Ellwood, tenant of the Crosscanonby Hall farm, Mr. Thomas Carey, J.P., and myself made several visits to the place, with the intention of gaining definite information regarding the hall, which we knew that he alone could supply. He has been the tenant of the farm since 1856, and extensive alterations and additions were made to the building during the following year. The late Mr. F. L. B. Dykes, to whom the place belonged, wished specially to retain the general character of the old building so far as it was possible. To this fact alone we doubtless owe the opportunity of giving some description. We were the more anxious as we understood that a date, supposed to be 1167, had been discovered over the fireplace in the room to the north. This has, of course, led many to think that the building was in reality the monastery, from which Crosby obtained its further appellation of Canonby. But the date was in Arabic figures, and therefore proved that this idea was untenable. Such figures were not introduced into England till the thirteenth century, and even then were not commonly used; nor were all of them of the present form till long after this. The stone on which the date was cut is now unfortunately lost, but it occurred to us to ask Mr. Ellwood whether the two "ones" in "1167" were exactly alike. He admitted there was a difference, and on submitting various forms of probable figures, without hesitation he picked out one which, he said, was the exact form of the second "one." It was, in reality an old form of 5. Thus the date is 1567, and the characteristics of the building will doubtless prove the correctness of this

date. So far, then, we have no information which could lead us definitely to the date when the term "Canonby" was first used. Its meaning is apparently clear, but we can get no further. We shall now confine our remarks almost entirely to what we were able to gather regarding the actual condition of the hall previous to its alteration and extension in 1857.



Ground Plan before Alterations in 1857.

CROSSCANONBY HALL.

The room to the north is, internally, 13 feet 6 inches by 12 feet 6 inches, the walls being 2 feet 6 inches thick. There was a huge fireplace, and over this was the date of which we have already spoken. A beautiful black oak panelling ran round the room. Evidently the preceding tenant, who held the farm over 50 years, was not much in love with old oak, for he used this beautiful room as a place in which to store his potatoes. Nor did he trouble to clear away the accumulation of soil that naturally occurred, for in 1857 a depth of 2 feet was removed. This, together with the damp coming through from the churchyard, greatly damaged the panelling.

STONE FIGURE FROM CROSSCANONBY HALL,
now at Dovenby.

TO FACE P. 263.

Mr. Ellwood said that many sculptured stones had been taken to Dovenby Hall along with the date-stone and the panelling. One such stone is represented in the accompanying photograph, a carved figure 2 feet high, about which there is no doubt that it was found here in 1857 and placed in a wall where Mr. Robinson rediscovered it in 1872. The photograph, now in Mr. Carey's possession, but formerly belonging to Mr. Robinson, is labelled "Found at C. Can. 1872. Sent to Dovenby." An old Crosscanonby resident to whom I showed the photograph knew the stone at once, and said he had "scopped" it with stones many a time! Mr. Ellwood also said that it was found in the room shown on the plan as in ruins. There was a second stone, similar to this, but broken into several pieces; also several querns in the same place. Mr. H. B. Dykes says that not only has he been unable to find any record of the hall before its alteration, but that he knew of no relics in his possession except the above-mentioned figure.

The part marked as in ruins appears to be the foundations of a previous building, as there were no signs on the end of the house to show that any building had been attached. What that building was it is, of course, impossible to say.

It is somewhat difficult to say by whom the hall was built, but Edmund Sandford (circa 1675), speaking of "the pretty village" of Canonby, says "one Mr. Egglesfield hath a pretty hall house here, and cosen to Monsier Orpheur." Bishop Nicolson (1703) writing of the quire of Canonby Church says, "Here's a Single Seat which is challeng'd both by Mr. Dykes and Mr. Eglesfield, the former being lessee of ye Tithes and the latter of the gleab." Thus it was in all probability built by the Eaglesfields.

The dairy, internally, is 22 feet 6 inches by 7 feet. Originally it was divided into three small rooms or cells,

each entered by a separate door through the wall, which is 2 feet 6 inches thick. The walls separating the rooms were about 18 inches thick. Each of them had a stone slab running lengthwise, one on each side of the doorway. These slabs were some 18 inches broad, and about 2 feet 6 inches above the floor level. The central room had no window. That in the one to the north is 1 foot 6 inches broad and 2 feet high, whilst that in the third is 2 feet wide and 2 feet high.

On the opposite side of the passage, which is 3 feet 6 inches broad, is a room 9 feet by 7 feet 6 inches. This was originally divided into two cells each 7 feet 6 inches long and about 4 feet broad, but there was only one window common to both. Each had a door, and there was one stone slab in each similar to those in the dairy. Each of these five cells had a strong oaken door, heavily studded with iron nails. They had iron locks, but these were almost entirely rusted away. These doors were afterwards used as bridges for the cattle to pass from one field to another where the ground was swampy, and long did they serve this purpose.

The staircase was roughly made of stone, and had one landing. The room to the south was a later extension, and is similar to that in the north. There is very little to add regarding the upper rooms, except that all the windows facing east have been walled up. That in the north room was originally some 4 feet square. This was afterwards reduced to one of 2 feet square, and this in turn was closed.

The whole of the roof, timbers, etc., were removed in 1857. Of outbuildings, there do not seem to have been any worthy of the name.

Mr. Ellwood also told us that there had been an underground passage crossing the churchyard, but this proved to have been only the foundations of some wall 2 feet 6 inches thick. No trace of this now remains, as the

stones were removed whenever the space was required for burials; indeed, Mr. Ellwood said that he himself had removed countless loads of stones. He described the cement as much harder than the stone, and stated that the lowest layer was on cobbles set in clay. He further said that there had been two other similar foundations running parallel to the first, but he could not remember whether there had ever been any transverse foundations. In any case, the total breadth between the two outer foundations was about 30 feet. Is it possible that these have been those of a Roman villa? If so, it would prove a veritable quarry for the building of the church itself. These foundations certainly agree as to the masonry—freestone on cobbles set in clay—in a marked manner with those of the Temple (?) and other buildings in the camp at Maryport, as well as in that at Beckfoot.

An altar was found in 1877 in the north-east corner of this suggested building. It is inscribed:—

AC(ILIAN)
VS. PRAEFEC
(C)O H. I. DELM.

It is now in the portico at Netherhall along with three other altars by the same officer. These latter were found in the Maryport Camp. Some 200 yards to the south of the hall is the Roman road to Luguvallium (Carlisle). It passes immediately under the Vicarage. The fields through which it passes bear the names Brigstones and Broats, suggestive of the stone paving which has probably been noticed in them. The Roman road to Bowness passes some 400 yards to the north.

Retaining walls have been built some 7 feet to 8 feet high on the north, west and south sides of the churchyard. At various intervals initials have been cut in the stones. These doubtless represent the names of the individuals

whose province it was to keep such portion of the wall in a proper state of repair. This was also done at Milburn (these *Transactions*, N.S., ix., p. 207) and Threlkeld (vol. i., extra series, *Bp. Nicolson's Miscellany Accounts*, p. 108).

Mr. Ellwood further told us that during his tenancy he has removed some 3000 to 4000 granite and other boulders, large and small, besides which he has ploughed up numerous stumps and roots of various kinds of trees. So numerous were these, that in some parts of the farm it had proved exceedingly difficult to plough without coming upon such obstructions.

Further, the fields nearest the sea were at one time mere swamps. During draining operations he had frequently come across large quantities of hazel nuts, shells, and peaty matter, in fact exactly such as we ourselves have frequently found in the "sunken forest" now some half mile below high water mark near Maryport. We cannot conclude without expressing our sincere thanks to Mr. Ellwood for his ready help and kind hospitality, also Mr. H. B. Dykes for his kindly replies to our enquiries.

Art. XXVII.—*Aikton Church.* By Henry Barnes, M.D., LL.D.

Read at Aikton, June 27th, 1912.

ALTHOUGH this is the first visit of the Society to Aikton, its antiquities have not escaped the notice of our members. Chancellor Ferguson says the long straight piece of road through Aikton, which if produced both ways would lead from Old Carlisle to Drumburgh, seems to be an old Roman road.* Mr. Whitehead has described the Church Bells,† Canon Bower has given an illustration of the Piscina‡ in the south aisle of the Church, and also of a grave slab,§ and Down Hall has had its story told both by Chancellor Ferguson|| and Mr. T. H. B. Graham.¶ There are, however, many other matters of antiquarian and historical interest connected with the parish and church which are deserving of attention, and it seems desirable that some connected story of these should be placed before you. As a native of the parish and, consequently much interested in it, I desire to submit the following observations :—

The Parish.—The early history of the parish is connected with the De Morville family, the manor of Aikton being in the Barony of Burgh. The extent of the parish from N. to S. is about five miles, and from E. to W. one mile and a half. John Denton who wrote an account of the most considerable estates and families in the county of Cumberland since the Conquest till the year 1610 gives a long description of the parish. He says :—

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* Ferguson's *History of Cumberland,* p. 45.
† These *Transactions,* O.S., viii., p. 505.
‡ These *Transactions,* O.S., xii., p. 210, plate xi.
§ These *Transactions,* N.S., ix., p. 17.
|| These *Transactions,* O.S., vi., p. 194.
¶ These *Transactions,* N.S., x., p. 112.

Aikton *Villa Quercum* is a mannor town and parish in the Barony of Burgh by Sands, and was the principal seat of Johan de Morvill, the 2nd daughter and one of the two co-heirs of Sir Hugh de Morvill, Lord of Burgh. A little hamlet (now called Downhall and ever so named after the Scots burnt it), was the capital messuage of Aikton where the said Johan Morvill and her husband Sir Richard Gernon dwelt.

Denton proceeds to describe the various changes in the ownership of the manorial lands of Aikton from the death of Johan* until the reign of Henry VI., when they were sold to Lord Thomas Dacre, and thereby became united to the ancient seigniory of Burgh, from which it had been separated by the partition of the two daughters and co-heirs of Sir Hugh de Morvill.† At a later date it became vested in the Earls of Lonsdale, who are now lords of the Barony of Burgh.

The following hamlets in the parish are described by Denton, viz.: Gamelsby, Biglands, Drumleyning, Whitrigglees, Lathes, and Wampool. Gamelsby he quaintly tells us "was so called of one Gamel that first builded there," and "before Gamel built there, it was a woody waste haunted with deer." Biglands is "so called of that kind of grain called beer or barley which plentifully grows there, which Cumberland men call *bigg*, and thereupon the hamlet is called Bigglands." Wampool or Wathompool "lyes next to Biglands and Gamelsby and is so called of the river Wampool upon the banks whereof it standeth." Whitrigg or the White Ridge is "a great long white rigg upon the banks of Wathinpool and was so called of the waste ground there fashioned like a corn rigg. It was first inhabited by the Brunes, who were antiently a great family." Lathes is a hamlet next unto

* Johan died in the 31st of Henry III. (1246-7).

† Chancellor Prescott in his Register of Wetherhal, p. 191, gives some particulars of the de Morvill family, and says that the manor of Aikton in the Barony of Burgh which fell to Sir Richard Gernun and Johanna his wife was said to be their chief residence.

Wampool and the Lord of Whitrigg had a farm or grange there. Drumleaning, Denton says, is corruptly called Drumleyning, the right name thereof is the Myre-Dromble-Heyning, Myre Dromble being a bittern and Heyning the fryth or freed spring of the place.*

Among the early references to the Parish which I can find is that contained in *Taxatio Ecclesiastica P. Nicholai* (circa 1291), where it appears as under :—

	Taxatio.				Decima.		
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Aketone	14	13	4		1	9	4
Vicar Ejusdum	9	6	8		0	18	8
				Sm̄a taxacōis	882	10	4

In the *Valor Ecclesiasticus Temp. Henr. VIII.* (26th year of his reign), *Auctoritate regia institutus*, vol. v., p. 280, Johēs Robynson, Prior de Lan'cost is described as "Rector ejusdem eccl'ie de Ayketon," particulars are given of the value of the mansion and glebe, etc., and after deductions the total value is stated as £ xiiij s. xiij. In Ecton's *Thesaurus Rerum Ecclesiasticarum* (1742) the value of Aikton is returned as £14 13s. 1½d., and the same value is returned in the *Liber Regis* of John Bacon (1786).

Thomas Denton in his Perambulation of Cumberland (MS.) in 1687-8 says the parish of Aikton is a Rectory and the benefice is one of the best in Cumberland, being worth £160 a year. Bishop Nicolson in his Visitation in 1703 describes the living as the second in value in the Diocese. Hutchinson in his History of Cumberland (1794) records that it is about £200 a year in value. According to Whellan (1860) it was worth £650, but in

* Mr. T. H. Hodgson, F.S.A., writes to me in reference to this derivation as follows :—" John Denton has gone out of his way to find a most improbable derivation for Drumleaning. There can be no doubt that it is from the Keltic 'drum' or 'drom' = a ridge, a common element in place names. It occurs often in Scotland and very frequently in Ireland, but Drumleaning and Drumburgh are the only instances that I know in England."

1868 it had dropped to £580, and in 1912 it is returned as worth £393. In 1730 there were in the parish 128 families, of which Quakers 4 and no other dissenters.* In 1811 there were, according to Lysons, 129 inhabited houses and 614 inhabitants. The population of the parish, according to the census of 1901, was 721, but in 1911 it had fallen to 620.

The Advowson.—The right of presentation to the benefice is now vested in the Earl of Lonsdale, Lord of the Barony of Burgh. The history of the advowson is interesting. In the earlier records it was presented to in moieties, a circumstance which historians regard as due to the fact that the property of Sir Hugh de Morville was at his death divided between his two daughters, Ada who first married Rich. de Lucy and afterwards Thos. de Multon, and Johan the wife of Richard Gernon. The list of known rectors dates back to 1304, when, on the death of William de Aldewerk, Thomas de Multon of Gillesland presents William de Somerset to a moiety of the church of Ayketon, whereupon an inquisition was held *de jure patronatus*, and one Richard de Ayketon protested that there was no such vacancy for that he himself was rector of the whole. Towards consolidating the said rectory Richard de Ayketon resigns, and presently there follows a mandate for induction to the said moiety of William de Somerset.† In 1306 Thomas de Multon again presents to a moiety. In 1339 Margaret de Dacre presents to a moiety, and upon an inquisition the jurors found that such a right was vested in her. In 1362 Ralph Lord Dacre presents to a moiety, and again in 1373. In 1378 Hugh de Dacre, Lord of Gilsland presents to a moiety. In 1465 a writ of *quare impedit* was brought by Sir John Savage, Knight, claiming the right of pre-

* Terrier, 1730.

† Full particulars of these proceedings will be found in the recently published Register of Bishop John de Halton, p. 226, *et seq.*

sentation against the Bishop and Richard Morland, Rector of Aikton, but the latter continued possessor, as it seems, of the whole rectory, for after this there is no mention of moieties. In 1563 William, Lord Dacre presents. In 1572 Queen Elizabeth presents, and again in 1583, 1591, and 1592. In 1642 Thomas Dennis, a mercer of Oxford, has the presentation. In 1694 the patronage fell to Sir John Lowther, and has since that date been in the Lowther family.

List of Rectors.—The following list is compiled from local histories (Nicolson and Burn and Whellan), and is brought up to date :—

William de Aldewerk—; Richard de Ayketon (also called Richard de Multon)—; William de Somerset 1304; Richard de Askelly or Richard de Askeby 1306; Robert de Halghton—; Thomas le Spencer—; William de Salkeld 1339; William Beauchamp 1362; William Chamberlayne 1364; Robert de Kirkby occurs in 1371; Thomas de Hutton—; Thomas Roke 1373; John de Midylton—; John de Kerby 1378; Richard Morland occurs in 1465; Christopher Caunefield—; Robert Lowthe occurs in 1509; John Robynson occurs in 1535; Nicholas Crawhall 1542; John Blyth died in 1563; William Lowden died in 1563; Robert Allanby 1572; Roland Hauxbie 1583; William Lowson 1591; Edmund Hewitt 1592; Thomas Blayne 1598; Thomas Head 1642; Mr. Lampit ejected in 1650; Rowland Nichols 1650; R. Threlkeld 1694; Richard Holme 1707; William Lindsey 1739; Henry Lowther 1753; Dr. Lowther—; Dr. Satterwaith 1814; Richmond Fell 1828; Samuel J. Goodenough 1845; Joseph Stordy Hodgson 1858; Joseph William Hodgson 1871; George E. Hasell 1872; William Jefferson 1911.

The Rectory.—This is known and has always, within living memory, been known as Aikton Hall. Why it is so called I have been unable to ascertain. The front of the house is of stone, but the remainder is of brick, and above the lintel of the front door is the inscription "Richmond Fell, Rector, 1828," which probably fixes the date of the present building. Bishop Nicolson in his

Visitation (1703) says "the house was built by his (*i.e.*, Rector's) predecessor of brick, and he has lately rebuilt some of the Out-Houses of Clay," but there are no traces of clay buildings at the present time, and the house which existed in Bishop Nicolson's time was probably destroyed when the present house was erected.

In the grounds to the east of the Rectory the foundations of some older buildings may be traced. Near to those foundations there is a deep ditch, which has suggested to some local antiquaries that we have here a moated rectory, and there is a distinct depression leading in a southerly direction from the ditch towards Down Hall as if the defensive works of the rectory at one time had been connected with the moated stronghold of the De Morville family. Tradition states that there was at one time an old fortified parsonage house at Bowness-on-Solway, and if the ditch at Aikton has been at one time a moat it will furnish the only evidence of a fortified rectory in Cumberland with which I am acquainted.*

Terriers.—Bishop Nicolson in his Primary Visitation in the month of May, 1704, gives details of a Terrier of the glebe lands which he describes as "written by ye (Lazy) Parson: But given in upon two several loose papers; neither of which are subscribed by himself or the Church Wardens." Mr. C. W. Ruston-Harrison has

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* Mr. T. H. Hodgson, F.S.A., writes to me as follows:—"I don't know why this Rectory is called Aikton Hall. It very probably was a place of strength in early times, though I do not think the pond in the garden ever formed part of a moat. It seems more likely that after the destruction of Down Hall the Rectory being the principal house in the parish, there being no manor house, acquired the name of 'Hall.' The Rector has no manorial rights." Mr. R. Blair, F.S.A., who was present at the meeting when this paper was read informed me that in the parish of Elwick in the Diocese of Durham the Rectory has always been known as Elwick Hall, and he has since kindly forwarded me a paper published in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, vol. vi., pp. 177, 182, in which the Rector, the Rev. R. G. W. Reynolds, in giving an account of the parish, says:—"This name seems to show with great plainness the condition of the parish in Saxon times. The Saxon Lord owning the estate, which in due time became the parish, bounded for the most part by becks, had his hall on the site of the present Rectory, which has always been known as Elwick Hall." This seems to me a very probable explanation of the name of Aikton Hall.

CHANCEL ARCH WITH HARVEST DECORATIONS, AIKTON CHURCH.

Phot. by C. J. F Martindale.

TO FACE 273.

kindly looked up the Terriers in the Bishop's Registry, and in addition to the above named there are Terriers on parchment with the dates 1730, 1749-50 (2 copies), 1750, and 1777, and on paper one dated 1740 and signed by Wm. Lindsey. One of the Terriers has this note:—"That ye Font will not hold water nor will ye Parishioner give a Bason we have no pulpit cloth nor cushion. Ye Roofe and Windows of ye Church are out of repair."

The Church.—Writing in 1860 Whellan describes the church as "a very ancient structure the architectural features of which are almost entirely gone in consequence of the numerous alterations which succeeding ages have rendered necessary." The church* at present consists of a nave 52 feet 8 inches long, and 20 feet 6 inches wide; south aisle (separated from nave by pointed arches) 7 feet 5 inches wide; chancel 18 feet 5 inches long by 13 feet 1 inch wide; vestry on north side of chancel; and south porch in second bay from west end. The porch and vestry are both modern additions. The first church probably consisted of simply nave and chancel. The west wall of nave is original and of twelfth century date. The north and south walls have been rebuilt or refaced. The east wall of nave above the chancel arch is original, and has many stones on its external face with the Roman cross tooling. The quoins at the north-east angle prove the original width of the nave. The chancel arch is Norman, semicircular, 7 feet 3 inches span, of two plain square orders. The jambs have had nook shafts, which are now gone, but the caps and bases remain. The bases are 2 feet 3 inches above the present floor of the nave. The shaft is 4 feet 6 inches high, and the caps are 1 foot 6 inches deep, with heavy abacus mould 7 inches deep. The original nave had apparently no west window; the present one is an insertion of 1732,

* For the measurements and the description of the architectural features of the church I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. J. H. Martindale, F.R.I.B.A.

of same date as present east window. All the other windows are modern. The chancel is probably the same size as the Norman one, but the walls have been rebuilt. The south aisle was added in the late thirteenth century. The arcade consists of four pointed arches, the east and west responds being moulded corbels. The columns are octagonal, 1 foot 8 inches in diameter, with plain splay bases and moulded caps 7 inches deep. The total height to springing line is 5 feet 8 inches. The arches have simple double splays. The entrance door into the second bay of the aisle is of the same period (see opposite), the moulding of the jamb being carried into the arch, indicating the date in style. The priest's door on the south side of the chancel, now walled up, is dated 1732, and is clearly an insertion of that period, the same as the east and west windows. The only trace of an earlier or original Norman window is a single stone, the *voussoir* of a Norman arch, showing the well-known chevron or zig-zag moulding. It is built into the east wall of the south aisle. If this belonged to one of the Norman windows they must have been very fine, but it is possible it may have been part of the original Norman doorway.

Bell Turret.—This is for two bells, and is of early date, but there seems to have been some reconstruction of the upper part (see opposite).

The Font.—The bowl of the font is clearly of early date and was probably the font of the early Norman church. It is square with the angles cut off. The sides are all varied, one side having shallow interlacing arches and on another are two quatrefoils. The shaft and base are recent, and were probably added at the last restoration. Mr. Francis Bond in his recent work on Fonts* says that in the eleventh and twelfth centuries unmounted fonts are less common than mounted ones,

* *Fonts and Font Covers*, by Francis Bond, 1908.

WEST END.

SOUTH DOOR.

AIKTON CHURCH.

Phot. by C. J. F. Martindale.

TO FACE P. 274.

THE FONT, AIKTON CHURCH.

Phot. by C. J. F. Martindale. TO FACE P. 275.

and circular fonts are more usual than square fonts. Among several hundreds of illustrations of fonts in various parts of England in this book there are several Norman fonts with interlacing arches; one at Crambe in Yorkshire, as regards its bowl, bears a close resemblance to the Aikton font, and Mr. Bond fixes the date of the Crambe font as about the last quarter of the twelfth century.

Monuments.—Only a single memorial exists in the church, viz., a brass 7 inches by 5 inches fixed in the south wall of the chancel by wooden plugs. It bears the following inscription :—

M. S. Gulielmi Lindsei qui A. M. Rector de Aketon & vicarius de Barton fuit. Excessit e vita anno Æ 81 & sepultus est die 15 Martii ano Dmi 1753. Multis ille bonis flebilis occidit.

Parish Registers.—These date back to 1694, but many pages are much worn and barely legible. Mr. Ruston-Harrison informs me that the Bishop's transcripts begin in 1665.

The Church Bells.—These, as already mentioned, have been fully described by the Rev. H. Whitehead, and members interested will find the description in vol. viii., O.S., these *Transactions*, p. 505. The treble is cracked and is not in use. It has on its shoulder an inscription, not grouped into words, as follows :—" ANDREASIRISTIFAMULUS." The Rev. W. F. Gillbanks who took a rubbing states that the 8th letter is undoubtedly I, and remarks that such an aggressive mis-spelling is curious. It is obvious that it must have been meant for a K, and the inscription should read ANDREAS KRISTI FAMULUS—" Andrew the servant of Christ."* The tenor is described as long, ugly and blank, and is undoubtedly a very ancient one. Canon Hasell considers

* The dedication is usually ascribed to S. Andrew, but in Ecton's Thesaurus Rerum Ecclesiasticarum it is ascribed to S. Michael, and Mr. Whitehead says that Brown Willis also calls the church S. Michael's.

that it dates back to the time of Edward I. The treble being disabled it has all the work to do, and Mr. Whitehead says "its functions in addition to ringing for service and tolling before a funeral are 1. Death Knell but without indicating sex or age; 2, After Burial bell; 3, After service bell on Sunday mornings; and 4, Sacramental bell rung immediately after the non-Communicants have left the church." The death knell is exceptional in this county especially in parishes near the Border. There are only four instances of its use in north Cumberland, viz., Stanwix, Cumrew, Cumwhitton, and Castle Carrock. The after burial bell is used in only one other parish in north Cumberland, viz., Castle Carrock. The after service bell on Sunday mornings is now rung in very few places in Cumberland, and the Sacramental bell is peculiar to Aikton. The present rector informs me that these uses of the bell described by Mr. Whitehead are still maintained.

The Church Plate.—This consists of an old plated cup, silvered on copper, a modern silver flagon given to the church on the occasion of the marriage of the Rev. Geo. E. Hasell, and a pewter paten, 9½ inches in diameter, marked A.C. (? Aikton Church). It has 4 small marks in shields: 1, W.; 2, C.; 3, Leopard face; 4, Thistle.

The De Morvill Grave Slab.—This was dug out of the church at the last restoration in 1869, and is now placed on the east wall (outside) of the south aisle. For the purpose of preservation it would be much better if it were placed in the porch or in the church. It is 5 feet 6 inches long, 10 inches wide, and 10 inches thick. A border on both sides contains dog-tooth ornaments. The cross head is too much worn to be deciphered, but the stem is a well-defined two-handed sword about 3 feet 5 inches long, with a cross piece 8 inches long. The sides of the slab are ornamented with foliage. The sword and foliage are in high relief, and it is interesting to note that some of the leaves closely resemble oak leaves.

Canon Bower in his account of this grave slab states: "this is said to be the tombstone of Sir Hugh de Morville, one of the assassins of Thomas á Beckett whose sword is now in the possession of Sir Wilfred Lawson of Brayton Hall." There is no direct evidence connecting the tombstone with the De Morville family, but as the character of the carving fixes its date as thirteenth century work, and as the De Morvills were the most important family in Aikton at that period, it is extremely likely that the tombstone is a memorial of a distinguished member of that family. The connection of Sir Hugh de Morvill, lord of the Barony of Burgh, with the murder of á Beckett is one of the errors which has crept into local histories and has often been disproved. At a meeting of the Royal Archæological Institute, held on December 4th, 1879, Chancellor Ferguson read a paper entitled "Observations on the supposed sword of Sir Hugh de Morvill," and at the said meeting Sir Wilfred Lawson exhibited the sword in question. In regard to the murder, Chancellor Ferguson writes as follows:—"The story is worth examination for it is connected with a gross and misleading error in the early history of Cumberland, which had its origin in the *Chronicon Cumbriæ*, a brief chronicle preserved in the Priory of Wetheral, and printed by Dugdale in his *Monasticon*." Mr. Hodgson Hinde, writing on the Early History of Cumberland in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xvi., p. 234, and exposing the many inaccuracies of the *Chronicon Cumbriæ*, says:—

Another mistake is the identification of Hugh de Morville, Lord of the Barony of Burgh with his more notorious namesake, the murderer of Thomas á Beckett. Hugh was a common name in the De Morville family, as appears by various documents in which we meet with the name of Hugh de Morville, at dates and under circumstances which show that it could be neither of the above. Hugh de Morville of Burgh was the grandson of Simon de Morville, who was probably the brother and certainly the contemporary of Beckett's assassin. The former survived

to the reign of John; whereas the latter is stated by all the biographers of the saint to have died at Jerusalem, whither he had gone on a pilgrimage in expiation of his offence, and to have been buried in front of the temple within three years of the murder. He was lord of Westmorland, and of Knaresborough in Yorkshire at the same time that Burgh was possessed by Simon, the grandfather of his namesake.

This error was repeated by Camden and was augmented and amplified by John Denton of Cardew. Camden after his journey to Cumberland (1599) inserted into the *Britannia* the following passage:—

Kirk Oswald, consecrated to St. Oswald the possession in old time of *Sir Hugh Morvill* who with his Associates slew the Archbishop of Canterbury; and in memoriall of this fact, the sword which he then used was kept heere a long time (Philemon Holland's Translation).

Denton (1610), writing of the lords of the Barony of Burgh (Burgh on Sands) in Cumberland, says:—

After Wm. Engayne succeeded Sr Hugh Morvill (as son and heir of Ada sole daughter and heir of the said William). In the time of Hen. 2nd this Sr Hugh Morvill was in great possessions. In Cumberland he was Lord of Burgh barony Lassonby and Ishall; in Westmorland of Temple Sowerby, Hoflun, &c., and about Wharton he had diverse lands. The great mountain Hugh-Seat-Morvill was called after him. He was one of the four Knights who killed St. Thomas á Beckett Archbishop of Canterbury, after which deed he came to great misery. He gave therefore the rectory of Burgh to the Abbey of Holm Cultrum, which the Bishops of Carlisle, Bernard, Hugh and Walter did appropriate to the monks. The sword that killed St. Thomas was at Ishall in my father's time, and since remaineth with the house of Arundel. He was greatly hated of the churchmen of his time; therefore they wrote many things to his dishonour hardly to be credited which I omitt. After great repentance he died and left his two daughters his heirs, Johan wife of Richard Worun or Gerun [Gernon], and Ada wife first to Richard Lucy second to Thomas Multon and third to Wm. Lord Furnival.

Referring to the above extract, Chancellor Ferguson in an editorial footnote to Denton's history, says:—

This is a dreadful muddle: Denton confounds Sir Hugh Morvill of Burgh with the murderer of Thomas á Beckett, another Sir Hugh, great uncle probably to the first mentioned Sir Hugh.

If we accept the evidence of Mr. Hodgson Hinde, and so far as I can find his conclusion as to the identity of the murderer of á Becket has not been disputed, Aikton is freed from the discredit of any connection with the murder of the famous Archbishop. A few words however may be said as to the sword, which Camden says was at one time kept at Kirkoswald, and Denton says his father saw at Ishall. It is very probable that as both these places in olden time belonged to Sir Hugh Morvill, Lord of Burgh, the sword referred to by both writers is the same sword and had been moved from one residence to the other. But what has now become of it? I have not been able to trace it. Denton says that it was at Ishall in his father's time and that it "since remaineth with the house of Arundell." It is curious that a sword with the same history should now be at Brayton, especially as Isel was the original seat of the Lawsons in Cumberland; but Chancellor Ferguson, who was present at the meeting when the Brayton sword was exhibited before the Royal Archæological Institute, said he did not think the Brayton sword came from Isel, but that it came from elsewhere, and that Denton had libelled the sword just as the *Chronicon Cumbriæ* libelled its owner. As regards the Brayton sword, it is described as a basket-hilted broad-sword, bearing the inscription "Gott bewahrt die aufrecht Schotten." The report of the exhibit says:—

This is no doubt a '45 broadsword,—not a claymore, which is distinctly a two handed weapon, and the German inscription may be partly accounted for by the fact that there were many Jacobites in Austrian regiments at the time of the Rebellion; to one of these officers it may have belonged.

Chancellor Ferguson suggests that the broadsword was very likely left in Carlisle Cathedral by some of the Highlanders who were imprisoned there in December, 1745, and considers that it is probably not much earlier in date. Dean Stanley who saw the sword at Brayton told the late Sir Wilfrid Lawson that he considered the story about the sword being the sword of á Beckett's murderer was all nonsense.

Church Restorations.—A few words may be allowed as to the restorations which have been effected, based partly on the evidence of the fabric itself and partly on historical documents. Whellan writing in 1860 says that "about a century ago the church was considerably enlarged by the addition of a south aisle in the perpendicular style." But that style of architecture was not common in the eighteenth century. Nicolson and Burn (in their History, published in 1777) make no mention of the addition of the aisle. The arches separating the aisle from the nave are very beautiful examples of thirteenth century work, and I am of opinion that the aisle was originally added as a de Morvill chapel. The fact that a piscina has been placed at the east end of the south wall strengthens the belief that this part of the church was an added chapel.

I have already referred to the restoration of 1732 when the east and west windows and the priest's door into the chancel were inserted. Probably more was done at that time, as Bishop Nicolson, in 1703, urges the rector that something should be done to the Quire as the roof is little better than that of his neighbour at Kirkbride, and the pavement though good "lyes disjointed, and shews it has a heedless owner." Among copies of other documents in my possession I have one relating to a restoration which took place in the later years of the eighteenth century (the original deed is in the rector's safe). The deed bears date 28th February, 1791, and is

SOUTH AISLE, SHOWING PISCINA, AIKTON CHURCH.

Phot. by C. J. F. Martindale.

TO FACE P. 280.

signed by Robert Hodgson and Isaac Westmorland of Wigton, the witnesses being Joseph Jefferson and William Parkin, all well-known Wigton names. It is of interest as showing the manner in which the expenses of the restoration were met and in giving the names of parishioners, landowners and other residents in the parish at that date. It commences as follows :—

Whereas it has lately been found necessary and expedient by the parishioners of the parish of Aikton in the County of Cumberland to repair the parish Church of the said parish and to erect new pews and seats therein for the better accommodation of the said parishioners to attend divine service, and at several vestry meetings therein held it was agreed that the expense of all the repairs and the erection of such new pews, or seats therein should be defrayed and born by collections according to the ancient purvey rate each of them respectively pay towards the public levies of the said parish.

The rate which each person is rated to the purvey is set out in the deed and ranges from 1s. 4d. to one quarter farthing. The arbitrators

Order allott and sett out to each and every parishioner, proprietor, landowner of messuages, tenement, land, or parcel of land that are rated to the purvey to the assessment for the repairing of the said parish church their several pews seats or divisions according to their adjudged values, and in proportion to the rate each person is rated to the purvey aforesaid.

The first award is in favour of Sir John Briscoe, Baronet, of Crofton Place, to whom is allotted one double pew or seat number 36 for ninepence purvey, one single pew number 31 for six pence purvey, and also a share in the single pew number 17 in proportion to one penny purvey, the whole single pew being valued at the rate of sixpence, which altogether makes up his proportion for one shilling and four pence to the purvey. Among others to whom pews or seats are allotted are John Smith of Gamblesby, Reverend William Hodgson of Aspatria for his estate of

Down Hall, and his estates at Biglands and Aikton, Joseph Hodgson, John Wilson, William Pearson, John Mathew, Joseph Hewson, John Sheppard, Thomas Branson, James Edgar, Francis Nicholson, John Dand, William Rook. Edward Knubley, John Hayston, Jonathan Pearson, John Reed, Isaac Mandell, Thomas Wilson, John Furnas, William Stoddart, Joseph Willan, William Skelton, John Barnes of Roblaw, Daniel Sibson, William Barnes, Thomas Twentyman, Thomas Bulman, Joseph Todd, John Barnes of Wiggonby, Margaret Reed, Williamson James, Margaret Hodgson, Samuel Brook, the Earl of Lonsdale for Gamblesby Mill, John Hayston senior of Biglands, John Stoddart, John Manduel, John Hewson, George Williamson, John Lawson, Thomas Backhouse of Whitrigg, John Atkinson of Gamblesby, and John Lawson of Bowness, Sir Gilford Lawson for Windy Hall, and George Rickerby of Wiggonby, Christopher Henderson and John Furnas Quaker, Thomas Hetherton and John Robinson, John Hayston junior of Biglands, and John Fell, Joseph Cowen, John Cowen, Christopher Borrowdale. The deed concludes by stating that taking into consideration the greater convenience that would arise to those who have small purveys as their several and district shares would be quite insufficient to accommodate them when desirous to attend Divine service, and in order to prevent the exclusion of those who may be well disposed to join in Christian worship the arbitrators ordered that seven pews or seats should be used promiscuously by those having small purvey rates. The value of these seven seats is assessed at one shilling and ten pence, and the following are the purvey rates of different proprietors entitled to use the said seats, viz., one penny halfpenny, one penny farthing, one penny, three farthings, three farthings and one half farthing, one penny, one half penny and one Bodle, one half penny and one half farthing, one half penny, one

farthing and one half farthing, one farthing, one Bodle,* one half farthing, and one quarter farthing.

The last restoration took place in 1869 and it was one of the first acts of Bishop Goodwin's episcopacy to re-open the church after its restoration. This took place on January 6th, 1870. The state of the church when the faculty was obtained showed the great need of the work being undertaken. The flat plastered ceiling of the nave was only 13 feet from the floor: the floor was flagged only and very damp; the pews were unsightly and much decayed; the south aisle was fitted up with low forms or skemmels on which the Sunday school children sat; the pulpit, a three-decker, stood in the middle of the nave; and the pillars of the arches were white-washed. The restoration, initiated by the Rector, the Rev. Canon Hodgson, father of our President, was thoroughly carried out. The north wall and the wall of the south aisle were rebuilt (the latter had been built partly of clay and cobbles and was in a dangerous condition); the plaster ceiling was removed and the original wooden beams exposed; the pillars and arches had their white-wash removed; the pews were replaced with good open benches on a wooden floor, and similar benches were placed in the aisle; the passages of the nave were reflagged; the chancel was laid with encaustic tiles; new lancet windows were inserted, and a new roof was put over the aisle. The pulpit, reading desk, communion table, and chairs were also new.

The Churchyard.—There is only one gravestone in the churchyard which has the appearance of any age. It is a grave slab of red sandstone and is much perished. It is 6 feet 7 inches long and 6 inches thick with bevelled edges. It bears on its face indistinct traces of a floriated

* Bodle said to have been derived from the name of a mint-master named Bothwell. A Scotch copper coin first issued under Charles II., and worth at that time 2d. Scotch, or one-sixth of an English penny.—Century Dictionary.

cross. There are, however, several uninscribed heavy grave slabs in the churchyard. In my early days which were spent in the parish there was a prevalent belief that the churchyard was frequented by the "resurrection men." The traffic in dead bodies before the passing of the Anatomy Act in 1832 was notorious. Not only were graves rifled but, as the revelations at the trial of Burke and Hare in 1828 conclusively proved, many persons were murdered and their bodies sold to the teachers of anatomy. I well remember the warnings which we used to receive as children not to be out after dark in the winter evenings, as we ran the risk of being seized, and having "pitch plasters" put over our mouths which would soon stifle our cries and speedily end our lives; and then we would be trussed up with ropes, put into sacks, and whisked off to Edinburgh. Owing to the close watch kept in graveyards in the neighbourhood of large towns, Dr. Lonsdale, in his life of Knox the Anatomist, says, in speaking of these resurrection men, that "these outlawed caterers for science were forced to make raids across the Border, and even to take ship to Ireland" in order to meet the requirements of their horrible and gruesome calling. Happily the passing of the Anatomy Act put an end to their trade, but the memory of its horrors still lingers in this as well as some other parishes in this county.*

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* Mr. T. H. Hodgson, F.S.A., writes to me the following interesting note referring to this matter :—"Aikton churchyard must have been an ideal place for 'resurrectionists' to work in. I remember that it was often found that in old graves heavy flags had been placed over the coffins, evidently for protection. Mrs. Hasell told me in 1903 that an old resident named Barnfather, who I understood to be then living, related that when he was a boy he and another lad early one morning saw a very tall and powerful man come out of the churchyard carrying a corpse on his back by the legs tied over his shoulders. The boys hid themselves, being afraid of being murdered if seen. My own early recollections entirely agree with yours—our old nurse used to caution us almost in the words which you use. She always thought that her own husband, who disappeared, had been made away with in that way."

ARMORIAL PANEL, from Rowcliffe Lane, Penrith.

Phot. by Geo. Reed, Penrith.

TO FACE P. 285.

ART. XXVIII.—*An armorial panel found at Penrith.* By R. MORTON RIGG, M.S.A., Licentiate R.I.B.A.

Read at Penrith, September 5th, 1912.

THE panel, of which an illustration is given opposite, was found in an old house in Rowcliffe Lane, Penrith. The property belongs to Mr. Joseph Cowper, of Thackagate. The old buildings were being taken down last summer (1911) for reconstruction, when this panel was discovered. It was over the fireplace, and had been carefully protected for many years by plaster, stoothing having been placed off the wall to keep the coat of arms from being damaged. It was carefully cut out by Mr. Cowper and he had it set on a cement foundation, to keep it from any harm. It seems to represent the arms of Queen Elizabeth. I have examined carefully all the deeds and papers in relation to the property and could not find anything very definite, except that there appears to have been a brewhouse near the site in 1736. Rowcliffe Lane, I am told, was the main street or coach road through the town, and I understand there were many hostelries in it. It is quite possible that this house has been an inn, and, in honour of the Queen, her coat of arms was placed in the dining room. As Queen Elizabeth had interest in the Forest of Inglewood, the house may have been the residence of some Crown official; the adjoining property, also belonging to Mr. Cowper, has the appearance of a house of no mean order, and one of the rooms has a very beautiful cornice with enrichments.

NOTE BY J. F. CURWEN, F.S.A., F.R.I.B.A.

The coat of arms displayed on the plaster shield would be described as :—

Quarterly, the arms of France and England, over all a cross fourchée. Surrounded by a Garter bearing the motto of the Order of the Garter, "Honi soit qui mal y pense." Above the same, a Sovereign's Helmet and thereon a mantle of Cloth of Gold, doubled Ermine, adorned with an Imperial Crown and surmounted by a Lion passant guardant, crowned with a like Crown, as Crest.

Supported on the dexter side with a Lion rampant Imperially Crowned, and on the sinister side with a Dragon rampant. Below, the initials E.R., and upon a label the ancient War-cry, "Dieu et mon droit."

The arms may stand for either Edward VI. or Elizabeth. I am rather inclined to the former (1) by the attenuated bodies of the supporters and (2) by the Dragon. Edw. VI. always used the Lion and the Dragon, and although Elizabeth sometimes did, she more usually adopted the Lion and Greyhound as her supporters. However, I do not place much reliance on this, as the work is not done by a professional worker in heraldry; and this is proved by the fact that he has placed the Lion looking towards the shield, instead of "guardant," *i.e.*, looking towards the spectator. Evidently he found it easier to depict the Lion's head in profile, and preferred the Dragon to the Greyhound.

At the close of Henry VIII.'s reign, which, to give time for the new art to spread northward, really means for us the reign of Edward VI., plasterers began to learn the power that lay within their reach for modelling ornamental shapes, and it became the height of fashion to indulge in this new art. Ornamental plaster ceilings and heraldic devices were quickly raised in the best houses throughout the country, and hostelries along the coach-roads vied with one another in their endeavour to show loyalty to the authorities by erecting the royal arms. Strangers on entering an inn were expected to drink the royal toast.

This shield was discovered in a house situated upon the ancient coach road through the town of Penrith; moreover, the house contains a very large room (now sub-divided), as is shown by the plaster cornice that runs around it and the molded plaster beams that cross it. May we not therefore infer that this was either a well-to-do merchant's house, or, more likely, one of the innumerable hostelries that lined the road?

ART. XXIX.—*Notes on the Vicars of Kirkoswald since the Commonwealth.* By THOMAS CANN HUGHES, M.A., F.S.A.

Communicated at Penrith, September 5th, 1912.

GEORGE YATES OR YEATS, 1670.

THIS person might have been the George Yates who was B.A., at Magdalen College, Cambridge, in 1661 and became Vicar of Ainstable. Calamy in his first edition included George Yates in his List of ejected Ministers, but in the second edition he stated he had conformed and lived and preached at Croglin. Yates was collated by Bishop Stern to the Vicariate of Croglin on the 9th February, 1663-4. He compounded for his firstfruits in 1664.

The Croglin Registers give his marriage as follows :—

Married 1664 Mr. George Yeats and Mary Dacre daughter of Mr. Humphrey Dacre, Parish of Haltwhistle, November 7.

The Croglin Registers also record the burial of his daughter Mary on the 9th March, 1666 ; the baptism of two daughters, one on the 30th October, 1667, and following curious entry as to one of his sons :—" 1669 George sonne of Mr. George Yates was baptised June 9th but was borne Saturday 15th May about betwixt foure and five a'clock in afternoone." The Rector died on the 16th December, 1670. His will, dated the 9th September, 1670, was sworn at Penrith, and is now kept in the Carlisle Probate Registry Office, and contains the following curious provisions :—

To Mary Armestrong my wives God-Daughter two Hoggs unto Henery Cookson my God Son one Ghummer Hogge to George

Teasdail my Godson I give one Ghummer Hogge I give and Bequeath unto all such persons as are mentioned in a Codicil hereunto annexed all such books as are there named as appears there more at large and all the rest of my goods and chattels movable and immovable I give and bequeath unto my wife Mary Yates unto my son George Yates and unto my daughter Margaret Yates all which I make full and joynt Executors of this my last Will and Testament and I do hereby constitute and appoint my trusty and well beloved friends George Towry of Croglin Hall Esq., Peter Hodgson of Nunnery Gent., and George Dacre of Ainstable Clerk, Supervisors of this my last Will and Testament and do hereby give them full power and authority yea to any one two or all of them seasonably to demand call for sue for (in due course of law) any summe or summes of money due to me or my Executors from any person whatsoever for the assistance use and benefit of my Executors. In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seale the year and day above written.

John Clarke Jurat. George Yates.

The Codicil to the Will.

Whereas I George Yates do give unto the said persons by this my last will. Imprimis I give and bequeath unto George Towry Esq., my Law Books in folio To Mr. Peter Hodgson one old Statute Book and my History of the Reigne of Queen Elizabeth To Mr. George Dacre Sympson's Lexicon, Greek, Latin and English To Mr. Thomas Nicholson Schoolmaster all such Books as he hath of mine at present and also all my papers notes and paper bookes in Characters and Buchanan on the Psalmes in Latin Verse.

To Mr. Thomas Stark and John Hodgson Schoolmasters I give all such books as they have of mine at present. To John Stark ye Elder Rowland Ealand and John Smith the younger I give joyntly amongst them one Book called Ye Saints Everlasting Rest To my cosen Christopher Yates I give Friar's Montanus inter lineary Greek Testament To Mr. John Rogers I give Josephus in English folio To Mr. John Muncaster I give my Brook's "Heaven on Earth," and to his son Thomas Muncaster "The Assemblies and the Cattechisms &c" in Latin. To John Muncaster ye sonne of Andrew one Greek and Latin Cattechism. To William Barrow "One thousand notable things." To John Smith son of Mr. Smith "One systeme of Divinity Greek and Latin." To Thomas Smith my Landlord's sonne one Bible.

The will was sworn at Penrith on the 17th day of January, 1670. He was buried on the 16th December, 1670, at Croglin.

George Sanderson, 1671.

This man was at Gainford some time after 1652 and beneficed in Richmondshire in 1661. There are several of his letters in the Rawlinson Manuscripts. He succeeded George Yates at Croglin and obtained a similar licence for Kirkoswald. In 1685 the Kirkoswald living was taken from him and the sequestration was served upon him on the 25th May in that year and the Sequestrators put in.

John Rumney, 1685-1738.

This man matriculated at Lincoln College, Oxford, on the 8th March, 1648-9. He had five children, referred to in the Kirkoswald Registers as follows:—(1) Robert baptized on the 10th January, 1686. (2) Andrew baptized 21st January 1688 buried on the 7th Aug. 1690. (3) Margaret baptized 10th June 1691. (4) Isabell baptized 2nd September 1694. (5) John baptized 6th June, 1697.

He married Isabell Sanderson in 1681.

He had also charge of the living of Renwick. He might have been the same as the John Rumney who was at Cross Canonby in 1712. His death thus appears in the Kirkoswald Registers as follows:—" 1738 Revd. Mr. Rumney Minister of Kirkoswald and Renwick November the 16th."

During this Vicariate several men have served the church, possibly as Curates:—

(*a*) Richard Harrison.—Inspection of the Registers discloses the fact that Richard Harrison was minister at Kirkoswald up to his death in 1686. He would appear to be the son of John Harrison of Kirkham, county Lancaster, minister, and matriculated at Brasenose College,

Oxford, on the 26th May, 1664, aged 15. He graduated B.A. on the 23rd January, 1667-8, was minister of Brindle and vicar of Poulton-le-Fylde in 1674.

The Registers contain a certain amount of evidence that

(*b*) George Lowthian was for some time curate, but the dates are not clear. There was a George Lowthian who was ordained deacon on the 20th September, 1668, who may have been George Lowthian, son of John Lowthian of Kirkoswald, who matriculated at Queen's College, Oxford, on the 14th December, 1660, aged 18, graduated B.A. in 1665, and became rector of Whitfield, Northumberland, in 1666. There are many references to this George Lowthian, and the baptisms and burials of his children in the Kirkoswald registers.

(*c*) James Wannop, 1719.—There seems to be some doubt as to whether this man was serving as curate. He married Dorothy Towry at Kirkoswald on the 9th August, 1719, and his widow was buried there on the 12th September, 1747. During his period of office, Joseph Tangate and Caleb Threlkeld acted as curates.

(*d*) William Milner, 1719-1723.—This man graduated M.A. at Glasgow on the 1st April, 1719, being described as "Gulielmus Milner Anglo-Britannus." He was doubtless intended for the Nonconformist ministry, and afterwards conformed. Mr. Ernest Axon, of Manchester, has kindly suggested that he was one of the Milners of Ravenstonedale, to which family belonged the Revd. Ralph Milner, Nonconformist minister at Yarmouth, who built the gallery in Ravenstonedale Chapel, and was quite a distinguished man in his day. William Milner married Mrs. Frances Moresby at Kirkoswald on the 5th August, 1721, and their daughter Mary was baptised there on the 27th September, 1722. He was afterwards vicar of Askham and father of William Milner, of Startforth, Yorks., and Brigham, Cumberland. The following

entries with reference to him appear in the Askham Parish Register :—

April the 20th 1723 or thereabouts I William Milner was inducted into the Vicarage of Askham this year May I preached the visitation sermon at Penrith it was ye first of ye kind in ye new Church the Visitor was Chancellor Tully.

1775. The Reverend William Milner Vicar of this Parish dyed on Tuesday November the 14th and was buried the 16th.

The following inscription appears on a brass at the foot of the east window in Askham Church :—

M.S.
Gulielmi Milner, A.M.
optimi et amantissimi Parentis,
hujusce ecclesiae Pastoris,
fidissimi et diligentisimi
per Annos 53 :
Amabili Morum Suavitate,
et Pietate veré Christiana
Ornatissimi,
Obiit,
Novemb. die 14th A.D. 1775
Aet. 79.

(*e*) John Rumney, 1723-1739.—He was son of the former vicar of Kirkoswald of the same name, and matriculated at Queen's College, Oxford, on the 19th October, 1716, aged 19, and graduated B.A. in 1720, and was incorporated as M.A. at King's College, Cambridge, in 1732. His wife, Mrs. Catherine Rumney, was buried on the 4th March, 1759, at Kirkoswald, and he himself was buried on the 16th November, 1739, but there is no monument to him in the church or churchyard.

John Mandeville, 1739-1761.

He was instituted in 1739 on presentation under the Great Seal. His burial entry appears as follows :—

1761. The Revd. Mr. John Mandeville Vicar. July ye 19th.

The Kirkoswald Registers contain references to the following children :—(1) James, buried 30th April, 1740. (2) Anne, baptized 7th March, 1740, buried 6th April, 1741. (3) Barbara, baptized 29th January, 1741, buried 1st February, 1742. (4) Joseph, baptized 4th April, 1743, buried 15th December, 1746. (5) Elizabeth, baptized 8th October, 1747, buried 12th October same year. (6) Anne, baptized March, 1745, married on the 7th October, 1769, to Joseph Bell of Lazonby. (7) Frances, baptized 4th March, 1748, buried 10th January, 1773.

His widow was buried on the 26th April, 1794, aged 88, and another son, John, was buried on the 14th March, 1780, aged 43. Sarah Mandeville, widow, who was buried on the 26th August, 1741, might have been his mother.

Charles Smalwood, 1761-1771.

He was son of Alan Smallwood, of Salkeld, Cumberland, and was born there, and admitted to Pembroke College, Cambridge, 30th June, 1739, and B.A. 1743. He appears to have become curate of Kirkoswald during the vicariate of John Mandeville, and to have there married Mrs. Joyce Fetherstonehaugh, only daughter of Mr. Heneage Fetherstonehaugh, of the College, Kirkoswald, on the 18th July, 1752. They are described in the Marriage Register as "both young persons." The following children appear in the Registers :—(1) Jane, baptized 17th July, 1754 ; married to Sir Thomas Carew, Haccombe, Devon, on the 19th June, 1777. (2) Bridget, baptized 14th August, 1758 ; buried 26th August, 1758. (3) Mary, baptized 9th November, 1759 ; buried 8th April, 1760. (4) Allan, baptized 11th November, 1766 ; buried 27th January, 1768. (5) Lidstone Carew, baptized 5th October, 1756 ; buried 25th November, 1795. (Two of these sisters appear later to have married two brothers.) (6) Timothy, baptized 7th March, 1761 ; buried 23rd December, 1794. (7) Charles, baptized 20th March, 1762 ;

he took the name and arms of the Fetherstonehaughs.

This vicar died on the 7th March, 1771, and the following inscription appears on a tablet at the east end of the church :—

To the Memory of the Revd. Charles Smalwood Vicar of this Parish who died 4 March 1771 aged 49 and of Joyce Smalwood his wife who died 18 August 1778 aged 50 both interred in this chancel also in memory of Timothy Smalwood their son who died 23 Decemb 1794 aged 33 also of Lydston Carew their daughter who died 25 Nov. 1795 aged 39 buried at Bickleigh in Devonshire This Monument is erected as a mark of filial and fraternal affection by Charles Smalwood Featherstonehaugh.

John James, 1771-1774.

Born in 1729, son of Thomas James, of Thornbarrow, Cumberland. Matriculated at Queen's College, Oxford, as Batler 6th June, 1745. Elected Taberdar 27th June, 1751. M.A. 7th February, 1755. He was appointed curate of Startford, Dingley, near Reading, in 1755, and left there to take up an appointment as headmaster of St. Bees, which he held until 1771. He was appointed to the living of Arthuret and Kirk Andrews on the 15th February, 1782. B.D. and D.D. 1st March, 1782. In 1757 he married Ann Grayson, of Lamonby Hall, and had four sons and three daughters. He died at Arthuret on the 1st January, 1785, and was buried in the chancel, and the following is a copy of the tablet erected in the church to his memory :—

Sacred to the memory of Revd. John James D.D. Rector of Arthuret and Kirk Andrews upon Esk, who died January 31st 1785 aged 56 years.

His widow was buried at Arthuret 21st May, 1820, aged 88.

"The Letters of Richard Radcliffe and John James," edited by Mrs. Evans and annotated by Dr. Magrath, have been printed by the Oxford Historical Society.

John Fisher, 1774-1829.

No trace has been found of the school or education of this vicar. He had four children born at Kirkoswald. (1) William, baptized 12th November, 1777. (2) Ruth, baptized 21st February, 1779. (3) John, baptized 12th November, 1780. (4) Thomas, baptized 28th January, 1783. The vicar was buried in the churchyard, and the tombstone over his grave bears the following inscription:—

In memory of the Rev. John Fisher Fifty five years Vicar of this Parish Aged 81 years who died on the 4th November, 1829.

During this vicariate Mr. Rumney was curate of Croglin.

Gerard George Lawson, 1829-1855.

No trace has yet been found of the school or education of this vicar. His wife was called Frances, and she died at Southport on the 17th May, 1862, aged 48. He had three children buried at Kirkoswald, as follows:—(1) George Walter, buried 8th March, 1861, aged 20. (2) John, buried 27th June, 1866, aged 13. (3) Eliza, buried 2nd January, 1855, aged 7. The vicar died on the 4th December, 1854, and the following is a copy of the inscription on the tombstone:—

In Memory of
The Revd. Gerard George Lawson
26 years Vicar of Kirkoswald who died
on the fourth December 1854 aged 51 years.
Also of Eliza third daughter of the above who died
on the 2nd January 1858 aged 7 years.
Also of Frances wife of the above Rev. G. G. Lawson who died
at Southport May 17 1862 aged 48 years.

John Best, 1855-1877.

This vicar does not seem to have had a college education so far as can be traced at present. He died on the 28th August, and was buried on the 1st September, 1877,

aged 59, and the following inscription appears on his tombstone :—

In fond remembrance of the Rev. John Best during 23 years Vicar of Kirkoswald died August 28th 1877 aged 59 yrs.

John Henry Ransome, 1877-1892.

Educated at Trinity College, Cambridge. Perpetual curate of Lindale-in-Cartmel 1860-77 ; Honorary Canon of Carlisle.

Close to the pulpit in Kirkoswald Church is a tablet bearing the following inscription :—

To the glory of God and in memory of
John Henry Ransome M.A.
of Trinity College, Cambridge
Perpetual curate of Lindale-in-Cartmel
1860–77.
for fifteen years Vicar of Kirkoswald
Honorary Canon of Carlisle
by whose efforts and care this House of God
was restored and beautified
The Bell Tower of this Church was rebuilt
and this tablet placed
by friends and parishioners
of his labours for the welfare of this parish
entered into rest June 7th 1892.
as a record of their loving appreciation

He was buried at Lindale-in-Cartmel, and the following inscription appears on his cross :—

John Henry Ransome
Priest
Entered into Rest
June 7th 1892
Aged 63 years
Also of Emily his beloved Wife
Departed this life 28 June 1904
Aged 73 years.

The following inscription also appears under the east window of Lindale Church :—

To the Glory of God and in Memory of John Atkinson Ransome M.R.C.S., who died Feb. 10th 1837 Aged 57 years this East Window was given by his Widow and children at the time this chancel was built and during the incumbency of his son John Henry Ransome B.A. November 26th 1864.

John James Thornley, 1892-1906.

St. John's College, Cambridge. B.A. 1866, M.A. 1869; Deacon 1866, Priest 1867. 1866, Curate St. Michael, Workington. 1871, Vicar of St. John's, Workington. 1892, Vicar of Kirkoswald. 1889. Hon. Canon of Carlisle. He died on the 1st December, 1905, and is buried under the "Saxon" cross in the churchyard, bearing the following inscription :—

John James Thornley Vicar of this Parish 1892-1905. A devoted Servant of Christ, loving and beloved, entered into rest 1st December, 1905, erected by Parishioners and Friends.

It will be within the memory of the members that several interesting papers by the above vicar are in these *Transactions*.

Robert Duncan, 1906.

St. Edmund Hall, Oxford. B.A. 1872; M.A., 1876; Deacon, 1873; Priest, 1874. 1873, Curate St. James's, Whitehaven. 1875, Curate Holy Trinity, Carlisle. 1880, Curate, Standish, Lancashire. 1881, Vicar St. James's, Whitehaven. 1906, Vicar Kirkoswald.

The writer of the paper desires to express hearty thanks to the present Vicar of Kirkoswald, to Mr. Ernest Axon of Manchester, to the Probate Court Authorities at Carlisle and especially to his Wife for much valuable assistance.

ART. XXX.—*Excavations on the line of the Roman Wall in Cumberland during the years* 1909–12. By FRANK GERALD SIMPSON, with contributions by F. HAVERFIELD, LL.D., F.S.A., H. H. E. CRASTER, M.A., F.S.A., and P. NEWBOLD.

INTRODUCTION.

THE original object of the work of excavation recommenced in Cumberland in 1909, by the late John Pattison Gibson, F.S.A., and the present writer, was to trace the possible continuation of the Stanegate and to examine sites on its line. How initial failure led to the examination of the Milecastle at Poltross Burn is explained in the report of that work (these *Transactions*, N.S., xi., pp. 390-3).

The complete and comparatively undisturbed remains of this milecastle produced evidence of date which raised afresh the question of the Builder of the Wall of Stone, considered by so many to have been finally decided by the discovery and examination of the Turf Wall near Birdoswald by the Excavation Committee of this Society during the years 1895-7, resulting in the theory which ascribed the Wall of stone to Severus and that of turf to Hadrian.

The conclusions as to the date of the stonework were thus summarised :—

> The question of date can only be decided by the finds associated with the first occupation. Judged by the present knowledge of Roman sites in Britain, the pottery, coins, and *fibulae*, found below the second floor, belong uniformly to the second century. . . . all point strongly to the conclusion that the building of the milecastle and Great Wall took place about 120 A.D. (*Poltross Burn Report*, pp. 459, 460).

The supporters of the Hadrianic turf wall theory, while admitting the second century evidence, suggested that these finds should be associated not with the Wall and milecastle of stone, but with the supposed wall of turf which had been entirely removed.

It will be seen, however, that if it were possible to suggest that second century evidence, accumulated from site after site along the Wall, belonged to an occupation associated with a wall of turf no traces of which remained, a final solution of the question would be impossible. The unique value of that portion of the Wall between Wall Bowers and Harrow's Scar now became apparent, for if at that point alone actual remains of the wall of turf were to be found, surely there alone could evidence from the Wall of Stone, uncontaminated by remains of the previous work, be sought for? (*Proceedings, S.A.N.*, 3rd ser., v., p. 131).

This well-known deviation of the Wall of stone from the line of the earlier work (plate i.), from a point 25 yards east of Wall Bowers milecastle to a point 60 yards west of Harrow's Scar milecastle, a distance of about $1\frac{3}{4}$ miles, with the station of AMBOGLANNA situated between these limits at Birdoswald, has been previously described and illustrated in these *Transactions* (o.s., xiv., p. 184, and xv., p. 346).

Prior to 1911, the only known site on this portion of the Wall was that of the milecastle on High House Farm, which was first examined in 1895 (these *Transactions*, o.s., xiv., p. 190). One other site was temporarily lost, that of the turret, between the milecastle and Birdoswald, which Hodgson records was discovered in 1833 and "all . . . taken away" in 1837. It was decided to excavate the milecastle, and all the turrets between Harrow's Scar and Wall Bowers, if they could be located.

The number of turrets between each pair of milecastles, and the general rule of their disposition, had long been a matter of controversy. Horsley suggested that there were four, at equal intervals: Bruce and Clayton, as

the result of actual discoveries, two in 1873 and two in 1883 (*Arch. Ael.*, 2nd ser., x., p. 57), concluded that there were two only, but never finally decided the point. In 1904, Mr. P. Ross, A.M.I.C.E., of Bradford, in a paper read before the Bradford Antiquarian Society, made out a very strong case for "two," and, acting on his suggestions, the seven turrets (BORCOVICIUM occupying the eighth position), in the four "miles" between the milecastles at Winshields and King's Hill, were located in the early summer of 1911. Three more, between Blackcarts turret and Carrawburgh milecastle, were found by Mr. P. Newbold in 1912, and during the past three months (to February, 1913) no less than thirteen have been located by the writer's foreman, Thomas Hepple, of Sook Hill, Haltwhistle. Over fairly regular country, the turrets prove to be placed at about one-third of the particular "milecastle distance" apart; but, in the rugged district of the Crags, the distances are, of course, much less regular.

Mr. Ross pointed out that the Stations actually on the line of the Wall occupied the position of a turret in relation to the next milecastle, PROCOLITIA and AESICA apparently being the only exceptions. AESICA now proves to be in a unique position, taking the place of a milecastle, with a turret at the average distance east and west, the supposed milecastle to the east having proved to be modern.

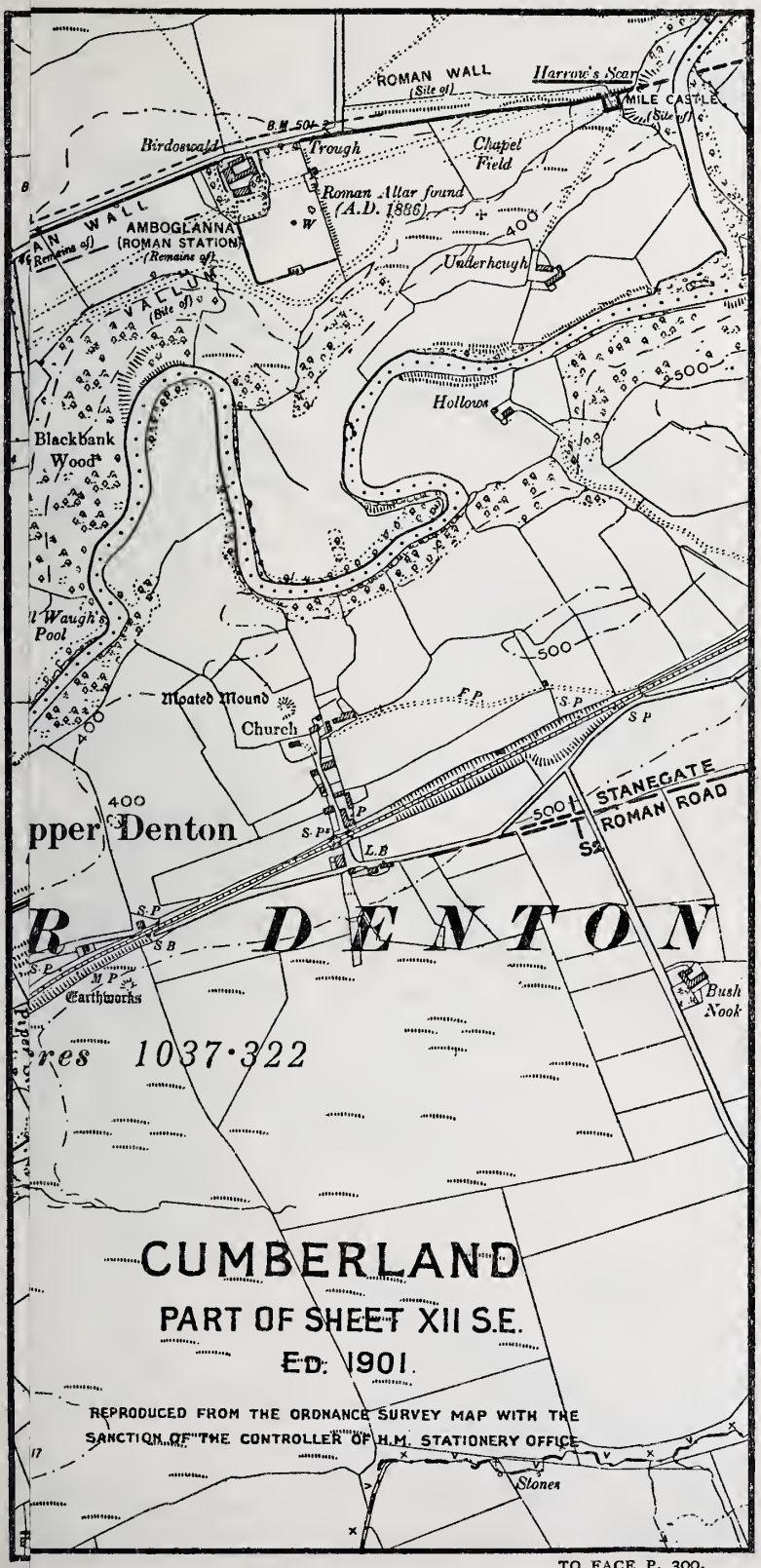
With such information for guidance, the Birdoswald turret was rediscovered 541 yards east of the milecastle (north gate) and 381 yards west of AMBOGLANNA (west rampart), the Station itself occupying the second turret position. The two turrets to the west were also located, the first, High House, 544 yards west of the milecastle of the same name, and the second, Appletree, 545 yards east of Wall Bowers milecastle. The distance between the turrets is 540 yards. All the sites within the limits

of the deviation, from which evidence directly bearing upon the date of the Wall of Stone could be obtained, were thus available. The work of excavation commenced on August 8th and was completed on November 2nd, 1911.

The remains of the Great Wall form the south boundary of the road to Lanercost for about 500 yards west of Birdoswald, but from that point onward to Banks, the Wall forms the foundation of the road, as it does for Wade's road for the greater part of thirty miles to the west of Newcastle-upon-Tyne. A quarter of the area of the milecastle and the whole of High House and Appletree turrets were therefore within the road boundary. The enlightened and public-spirited action of the Brampton Rural District Council, in granting leave for the road to be temporarily broken into at these three points, has made possible a result which would otherwise have been incomplete and unsatisfactory.

Work was begun first at the milecastle, but the quantity of modern pottery found indicated that a house had occupied the site (cf. Wall Bowers, these *Transactions*, O.S., xiv., p. 190). The remains were consequently much disturbed, and the evidence of stratified deposits less reliable than that obtained from the turrets, which will therefore be described first.

PLATE I.



TO FACE P. 300.

The Turrets and Great Wall.

Comparative Dimensions, etc.

		Apple-tree.		High House.		Birdos-wald.	
		Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.
Thickness of Great Wall ..		7	8	7	7	7	7
,, of N. wall ..		4	0	4	2	3	10
Depth of Recess		3	8	3	5	3	9
Average thickness of E., S. and W. walls.		3	0	2	11	2	10
Interior E. to W.		13	7	13	8	13	0
,, N. to S.		12	10	12	9	12	5
Height between floors.	1A—1B	5 to 6		4 to 6		4 to 6	
	1B—2	1	6	no later		1	2
	2—3	removed ?		occupation		1	0
Material of floors.	1 A	clay		flags & clay		clay	
	1 B	flags		flags		flags	
	2	flags		—		clay	
	3	—		—		flags	

From the plans (pl. vii.) and the above table, it will be seen that the three buildings are of nearly the same dimensions, while a similar regularity in construction makes a detailed description of each unnecessary. The Great Wall throughout this section is constructed in the usual manner, but the underground work is much simpler than at Poltross Burn (*Poltross Burn Report*, p. 399). The subsoil generally is a strong gravelly clay, affording a firm foundation, on which the footing course of flags has been laid, with very little " clay and cobble " packing below. The footing course projects from 5 inches to 8 inches on both faces, but at no point where it was examined was the Wall further reduced by offsets, maintaining an average thickness of 7 feet 7 inches throughout. The facing stones are rather larger than usual towards Birdoswald, and the contrast between them and the

small stones in the walls of the fort was pointed out many years ago (Bruce, *Roman Wall*, 3rd ed., p. 256). The stones of the turret walls are, as elsewhere, smaller than those of the Great Wall, but the north (outer) face at High House and Appletree (only one course remained at Birdoswald) is composed of " Wall " stones throughout. This indication of the simultaneous construction of Wall and turrets was confirmed by the bonding of the side walls with the south face, where the unequal coursing would allow, and by the continuous solid core.

The absence of bonding and a continuous core at the milecastle (fig. 13), however, shows that the lack of such evidence does not necessarily disprove contemporaneous work. Otherwise the discovery of the unique construction of Walltown Crags turret would cause misunderstanding. The interior of this turret was cleared in 1883. In January, 1913, the outer walls were examined in order that a plan might be made, when it was found that the turret had been built before the Wall, which simply abuts upon it, making different angles with its north wall in both directions. In this case, the courses of the north face are smaller, seven of the turret being equal to six of the Wall at the straight joint at the north-west corner (P. Newbold, *Arch. Ael.*, 3rd ser., ix.).

The normal position of the doorway is at the east end of the south wall, and the average width 3 feet. The door when closed was probably nearly flush with the outer face. There was no massive threshold stone as at Limestone Bank turret. In each case the remains of a path, about 4 feet wide, were found outside the door. At Limestone Bank, Mr. P. Newbold has discovered a similar, though wider, path, and has traced it from the turret to its junction with the Military Way (*Arch. Ael.*, 3rd ser., ix.).

The original height and arrangement of the superstructure of a Wall-turret can only be conjectured, but

the bas-reliefs on the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius at Rome probably supply accurate information, and generally indicate that the upper storey was built of timber. The first floor would be at the level of the rampart walk, probably about 13 to 14 feet from the ground (*Poltross Burn Report*, p. 420), which would pass through the upper chamber. No remains of permanent steps leading to the walk have been found inside, or outside, any turret. An inside ladder, which could be easily moved, was probably used. No *ballista*-stones have yet been found at a turret (cf. Mucklebank, J. P. Gibson, *Arch. Ael.*, 2nd ser., xxiv., p. 15). Hearths have been invariably found, but no ovens, indicating that these buildings were not occupied permanently like the mile-castles, but simply as shelters for the sentries and as signalling stations, the garrison of each milecastle having charge of half a " mile " of the Wall and a turret in both directions. The average area within the walls agrees closely with that of the rooms in the barrack-buildings at Poltross Burn milecastle (*Poltross Burn Report*, p. 422) and at BORCOVICIUM, and may give some idea of the ordinary manning of the Wall.

BIRDOSWALD TURRET.

Two features of the plan should be mentioned, the two drains through the Great Wall, and the position of the doorway. The drains are about 4 feet from the turret walls at each side (fig. 1). They are about 5 inches wide by 10 inches high, and are carried through the Wall immediately above the footing course. As the ground slopes gently from east to west, the west drain seems to be unnecessary. No signs of a built drain, nor of a gutter cut in the clay, were found leading to either (cf. *Poltross Burn Report*, p. 418). The doorway is placed about 2 feet from the east wall, instead of at the corner of the chamber as usual.

When the walls of this turret were reduced from a height of six courses to the present ground level in 1837, as recorded by Hodgson, the area of the recess into the Great Wall fortunately escaped disturbance. The opening was roughly walled across at the time, preserving the remains of the later floors and layers of débris. Though this destruction entailed the removal of so much of the later levels and the whole of the rubbish-heaps outside the walls, the all-important early floors remained practically intact.

The only detailed description of the remains of floors, indicating distinct periods of occupation, in a turret is found in the report of Mucklebank turret, excavated in 1892, by the late J. P. Gibson, F.S.A. (*Arch. Ael.*, 2nd ser., xxiv., p. 13). On p. 16 Mr. Gibson recorded that

> Under a quantity of rubbish bearing marks of fire, . . . a pavement of rather irregularly laid flagstones was found, but . . . the original floor level had not yet been reached. On raising these flags, under another mass of débris showing traces of fire, at a depth of about six inches, a second floor of similar flags was found; and at a depth of about eighteen inches below this second floor of flags was the original floor of the turret formed of beaten clay, which had apparently been hardened by fire, or mixed with ground bricks. Upon it were found many bones of domestic animals, covered by fallen portions of the building, mixed with considerable masses of charcoal from burnt timber.

There is no doubt that in this case no later floors had been removed by modern destruction, as the walls were standing four feet above the top floor all round the turret (also cf. *Poltross Burn Report*, p. 423). Unfortunately the pottery from the different floors was not preserved.

Floor 1A, *Section C.D.*—At Birdoswald the remains of four floors were found (fig. 2). The lowest was of clay, worked and free from stones, covering about 3 inches

FIG. 1.—BIRDOSWALD TURRET, LOOKING N.W

FIG. 2.—REMAINS OF FOUR FLOORS IN RECESS.

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of reddish gravelly clay. This was laid upon the clayey subsoil, which shows white in the photograph. The turf must have been first removed from the site. A fired flag, and the reddening of the facing stones, in the north-west corner, indicated the position of a hearth. At this level, near the west wall, the coin of Domitian, No. 2, was found, and that of Vespasian, No. 1, just outside the door on the path, below the flags of the floor above. The quantity of ordinary pottery was not large, but the Samian found inside included a Dr. 27 cup and the Dr. 37 bowl, No. 1, pl. xix.

A layer of dark material, about 3 inches thick, covered the floor, the lower part of which probably represents ashes, etc., gradually worked into the clay floor: the rest, however, was looser and contained burnt matter, wood ashes, and broken pottery, but no masonry débris. The impression given by this layer was that the wood-work of the turret had been destroyed by fire, and that a new floor was laid when the damage was repaired.

Floor 1B.—The new floor was of irregular flags, laid directly upon the débris. It was intact over about half the area, but where it was disturbed the pottery from this level was somewhat mixed with that of the floor below. About 16 inches west of the doorway were the remains of a rectangular, base-like structure, projecting 3 feet from the south wall, consisting of one course of walling stones. Similar strong bases of doubtful use have been found at Peel Crag and Steelrigg turrets, and at Limestone Bank turret, where Mr. Newbold suggests that it was the base for the steps which gave access to the rampart walk (*Arch. Ael.*, 3rd ser., ix.) A considerable quantity of pottery was found at this level, as well as the dog-*fibula* and compass-arm (fig. 38, Nos. 1 and 2).

The material covering this floor was strikingly different from that found above floor 1A. It was fully 12 inches thick, containing the same kind of burnt matter, but

in addition a large proportion of masonry débris and walling stones. In fig. 2 five unbroken walling stones of the "turret" size can be seen, and the disturbance of the flags of the floor by the collapse of the masonry, especially in the north-west corner, where the hearth was again placed during this period, is unmistakable. In this case the evidence of the débris points to the throwing down of the walls, in addition to the burning of woodwork.

Floor 2.—A layer of clay covered this débris and formed the third floor, the surface being 14 inches above that of the second. A simple clay hearth was found at the north-east corner. The small area remaining produced the bronze object, No. 3, and a small quantity of pottery. The surface was again covered with dark material (which contrasts with the lighter-coloured clay of the floor), and masonry débris, to a depth of about 9 inches, but the amount of fallen stone was probably smaller than in the case of F. 1B.

Floor 3.—The top floor was formed of flags, laid like F. 1B directly upon the débris, the surface being about 12 inches above that of F. 2. As before, the familiar dark material, with some burnt matter, covered the flags, which were somewhat displaced by fallen stone, but the layer of débris was disturbed. The small quantity of pottery found at this level, like that from F. 2, unfortunately contained no fragments of datable value.

Owing to the operations of 1833-7, it is impossible to state whether floor 3 is that of the latest occupation. The pottery found outside the walls was generally at a low level, and associated with floors 1A and 1B. Some worn fragments of the late cooking-pot "vesicular" ware were, however, found in the surface soil, indicating that the turret was occupied during the latest period at Poltross Burn and Winshields, where this ware was found at the latest level (F. 3) only (*Poltross Burn Report*, p. 453).

FIG. 3.—HIGH HOUSE TURRET, FROM S.W., SHOWING BUILT-UP RECESS.

FIG. 4.—"BUILDING-UP" MASONRY PARTLY REMOVED.

FIG. 5.—PEEL CRAG TURRET, FROM E.; "BUILDING-UP" MASONRY PARTLY REMOVED.

FIG. 6.—STEELRIGG TURRET, FROM S.E., SHOWING BUILT-UP RECESS.

High House Turret.

The ground falls about 60 feet between High House milecastle and the turret, which is on low ground, near a small watercourse. It is overlooked by Nanwick Hill, which rises sharply on the north. The site has originally been swampy and the turret stands on a bed of peat, which has been covered with a thick layer of clay to secure a firm foundation for an extra wide footing course of large flags. There were no signs of unequal settlement in the walls.

As the excavation proceeded, it was noticed that the walls were nearly uniformly removed down to the first course, but without any signs of modern disturbance, while the quantity of pottery and débris was much smaller than at Birdoswald. These unusual features were explained when a wall face was found only 9 feet 4 inches from the south wall (fig. 3). Had it not been for the similar discovery at Peel Crag six months before, this walling might have been taken for the north wall of the turret.

At Peel Crag the walls were found to have been taken down to the ground level as uniformly as at High House, and the recess filled with solid masonry, the face of which was flush with the south face of the Wall and was carried across the remains of the turret walls. Fig. 5 shows the north wall and recess (3 feet 9 inches) at Peel Crag, with the later "building-up" partly removed. At High House, the remaining courses of the later work were composed of stones probably taken from the lower courses of the turret walls, which were larger than usual, but at Peel Crag very large dressed stones, which had certainly not formed part of the turret, were used in the lower courses.

Steelrigg turret (fig. 6) proved to have been disused, the walls levelled and the recess built up in the same manner: but in addition, the Great Wall has been

entirely rebuilt for a distance of at least 750 yards near this turret and the thickness reduced by nearly 18 inches, the reconstructed Wall being carried over the turret as if its existence had been forgotten (*Reports in preparation*).

It has been found that the great majority of the turrets recently located have their recesses built up and walls levelled apparently on purpose. This fact, which accounts for the absence of a heap of débris on the site, surely explains why so few turrets have hitherto been discovered.

Floor 1A.—There were only two floors inside this turret. The lower was partly flagged, the rest being apparently the clay covering the peat below. No definite remains of a hearth were met with at this level, though pieces of fired flags were found. The small quantity of pottery which could be certainly assigned to this floor contained part of a Dr. 27 Samian cup, which was found below a flag of the upper floor, near the middle of the turret. The average thickness of the layer of dark material at this level was not more than 3 inches. It contained burnt matter, but no masonry débris, and was very similar to the layer separating floors 1A and 1B at Birdoswald.

Floor 1B.—The upper floor may have been entirely of flags originally, but it was much disturbed near the walls. In places, the flags of the two floors were almost in contact, and nowhere was the height between the surfaces more than 6 inches. No hearth was found, but the removal of the walls, the reddened stones of which give the surest evidence, accounts for the absence at both levels. When the recess was built up a foundation-trench was dug through the floors for the facing, but not for the core behind, and portions of the flagging of the floors were found close to the north wall of the turret when the later walling was removed, as shown in fig. 4.

The débris covering the upper floor contained burnt

FIG. 7.—HIGH HOUSE TURRET; INTERIOR FULLY EXCAVATED.

FIG. 8.—APPLETREE TURRET, FROM W., SHOWING FLOORS 1B AND 2.

FIG. 9.—APPLETREE TURRET; GENERAL VIEW, LOOKING W.

FIG 10.—GENERAL VIEW, LOOKING E.

matter and broken stone, but walling stones were conspicuously absent. The removal of the walls, however, confirms the impression that the débris was disturbed, and fallen walling stones removed, when the recess was built up. Almost the only useful building stone found in the débris was the inscribed slab, No. 1, which was lying near the east wall and may have been purposely neglected. The inscribed fragment, No. 2, was found near the west wall, and a stone trough, 24 inches by 12 inches by 8 inches (outside), and half an upper millstone, 14 inches in diameter, of local grit, near the doorway. The quantity of pottery from this level was not large and, owing to the disturbance of the flagging, was somewhat mixed with that from floor 1A. A number of walling stones found at a higher level appeared to be débris of the later destruction of the Wall.

As at Peel Crag, the face of the "building-up" was flush with the south face of the Wall, but the remains were too low to show the regular facing carried across the turret walls.

The full area inside the turret is shown in fig. 7. Outside the walls the area examined was smaller than at Birdoswald and Appletree. Burnt matter and pottery were found, especially in the corners near the Wall which appear to have served as middens. No coins were found at this turret.

Appletree Turret.

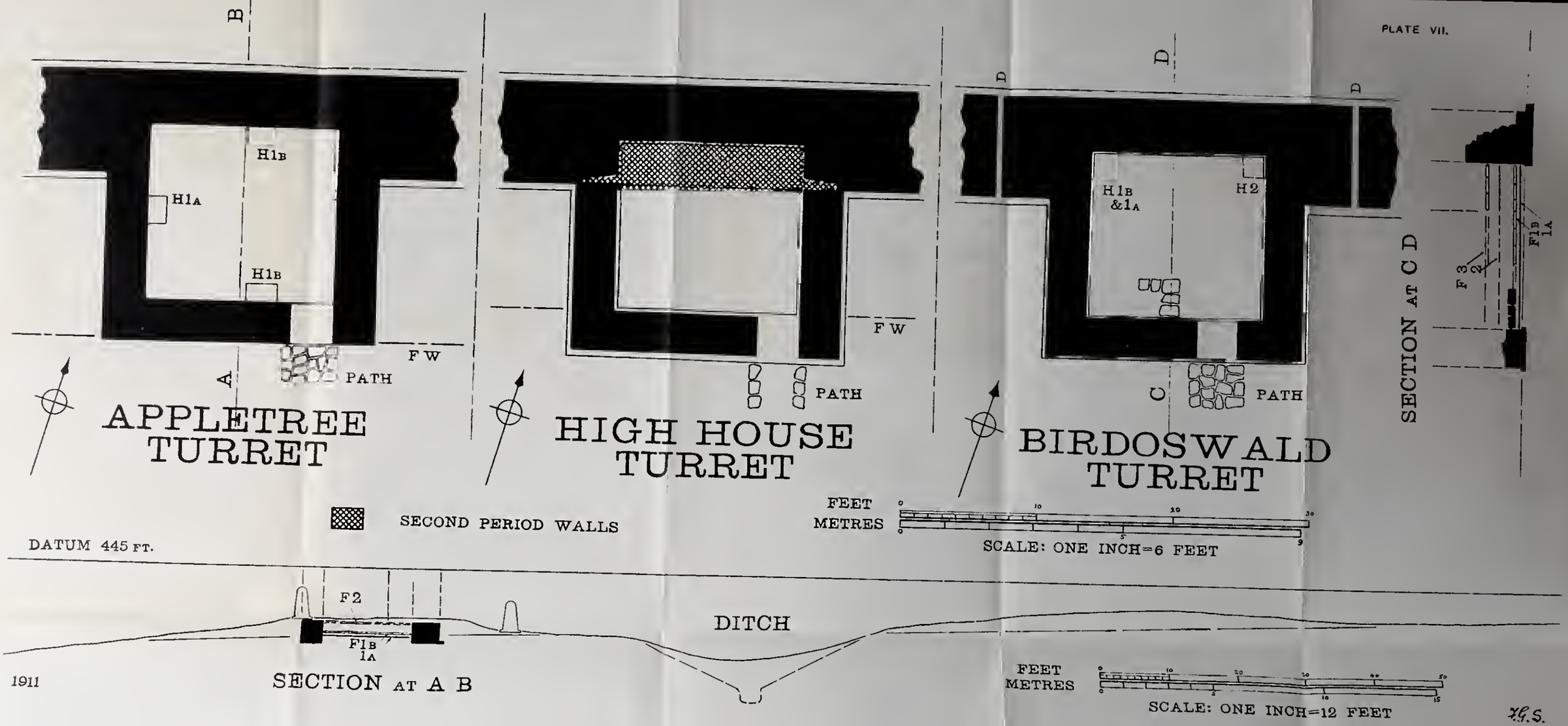
The site is situated about 80 yards to the east of the deserted farm buildings at Appletree, and was marked by a distinct rise in the south wall of the road, which is carried over the south wall of the turret (Section A B). Though little higher than High House turret, it has an extensive prospect to the north, and on the south the ground slopes down to the watercourse mentioned above. The subsoil is strong gravelly clay. The walls of the

turret have no projecting footing course except at the north-east corner inside. In plan this turret is exactly rectangular.

In the surface soil and near the east wall modern pottery and glass were found, pieces of which fitted vessels from High House milecastle, indicating that the great gap in that wall (fig. 10) was made in modern times, and the stones removed probably to the house which stood on the site of the milecastle. When the road was made the turret walls were evidently levelled down and the upper débris, and probably a floor, entirely removed. The latest of the three floors found was within six inches of the surface and level with the tops of the walls (fig. 8).

Floor 1A.—The lowest floor was of clay. About the middle of the west wall the facing stones showed strong marks of firing, and a fired flag close to the wall had evidently formed the hearth. Above the clay floor was a layer of dark material not more than 4 inches thick, very similar to that found between the floors 1A and 1B at the other turrets. Valuable datable pottery was found at this level, including a Dr. 27 Samian cup and a jar with "rustic" surface decoration (No. 53, pl. xvii.).

Floor 1B.—The next floor was flagged, some of the stones being of large size (fig. 8). Over a large part of the area there were two layers of flags, generally closely in contact. Near the middle of the turret the penannular brooch, No. 5, fig. 38, was found between them, but there was no real evidence to connect the two layers with separate periods of occupation. There were two hearths at this level, one about the middle of the north wall and the other against the south wall, just within the doorway. In both cases the walls were much reddened above the hearth-stones. The flagging was continued in the doorway and a pivot-stone found in position at the west side, so placed that the door when closed would be nearly flush with the outer face. Near the east wall, owing to


B
H1B
H1A
H1B
A
PATH
FW
APPLETREE TURRET
PATH
FW
HIGH HOUSE TURRET
D
D
D
H1B &1A
H2
C
PATH
BIRDOSWALD TURRET
SECTION AT C D
F3 2
F1B 1A
SECOND PERIOD WALLS
FEET
METRES
SCALE: ONE INCH=6 FEET
DATUM 445 FT.
F2
F1B 1A
DITCH
SECTION AT A B
FEET
METRES
SCALE: ONE INCH=12 FEET

1911

H.G.S.

the removal of the masonry, the flagging was much disturbed and some of the pottery from the two floors mixed together. Fragments of the Dr. 37 Samian bowls, Nos. 6 and 7, pl. xix., and of a second "rustic" jar, were found both above and below the 1B level. The bowl, No. 65, pl. xvii., with flat, but not reeded rim, was definitely found on floor 1B near the west wall, as well as other useful datable pottery.

A layer of débris fully 16 inches thick covered this floor, the lower part of which was chiefly burnt matter and the rest definite masonry rubbish. Among the fallen walling stones was one bearing a *phallus* in relief.

Floor 2.—This deposit was covered by another floor, of thin but well-fitted flags, the surface being 18 inches above that of floor 1B. Unfortunately only a small portion of the flagging remained in position, near the middle of the turret. The jar, No. 90, pl. xvii., was found almost complete on this floor, with other pottery and the bronze stud, No. 8, fig. 38, in material which appeared to be very similar to the débris from the floor below.

None of the pottery from floor 2 appears to be of late date, and as a few pieces of the late cooking-pot ware were found near the surface outside the walls, it is probable that another floor, corresponding to floor 3 at Birdoswald, was removed when the road was made.

Outside the walls a considerable quantity of pottery, ashes and other rubbish was found all round the walls, and especially in the corners near the Wall, including the penannular brooch, No. 6, and the bronze objects, Nos. 9 and 10, fig. 38. The pottery found at a low level included two Dr. 27 Samian cups, another "rustic" jar, and two bowls with flat reeded rims, Nos. 93 and 94, pl. xvii. Over twenty nails and bolts were found, the majority of which came from the débris above floor 1B. No coins were found at this turret.

Some fragments of window glass were found at each of the turrets.

The dating of the periods of occupation at the turrets and the milecastle is dealt with by Mr. Newbold in his description of the pottery.

High House Milecastle.

The site of the milecastle is at the highest point of the road between Birdoswald and Wall Bowers. The building lies on a gentle slope of about one foot in thirteen towards the north. The remains in the field were very much disturbed, especially at the west side, as may be judged from fig. 23, in which the limit of the excavation is the line of the west wall, hardly a stone of which remained in position. Under the road, however, the remains, though much reduced in height, were well preserved.

The work in the road had to be undertaken in sections, and it was impossible to examine both faces of the Wall at the same time. The road metal for about 18 inches across the middle of the north gate was not removed. The field wall on the south side of the road was not taken down except at the oven (fig. 24). The whole of the interior, with the exception of this strip, about 5 feet wide, was uncovered.

The scanty remains of the internal buildings, and the disturbance of the floor levels, is accounted for by the discovery that a comparatively modern building has occupied the site. A fragment of the foundations was found near the middle of the milecastle (fig. 22, left foreground), while broken pottery, glass, wine bottles and tobacco-pipes, and various iron objects were scattered over the whole site. Fragments of over fifty pipes were found. Mr. E. Thurlow Leeds, F.S.A., of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, who has examined these finds, considers that they cover a period from about 1650 to 1750, the earliest vessel being "a Bellarmine jug, first introduced into England in Elizabeth's reign, but in use well into the 17th century." The pipes appear to belong to the first half of the eighteenth century.

Dimensions and Proportions.—There is no material difference in plan between this milecastle and those already excavated. The north end is regularly laid out, but the east wall is 2 feet 6 inches longer than the west wall and the south gate 2 feet west of the middle of the south front, making the whole plan appear askew. The average length inside the walls is 76 feet, the greatest recorded length inside a milecastle: the width from east to west is 60 feet. The northern corners are angular, but the southern corners are rounded on the inside as well as on the outside, as at Poltross Burn and Harrow's Scar. This feature is peculiar to these three milecastles, which are also placed in a distinct class on account of their large size.

All the milecastles hitherto examined in Northumberland are much smaller, the average area within the walls being only 330 square yards (*Poltross Burn Report*, p. 398), and in each case the southern corners are angular on the inside. The following table gives the dimensions and areas of the milecastles in Cumberland which have been measured:—

Name.	N. to S.		E. to W.		Area.
	Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.	Sq. yds.
Poltross Burn	70	0	60	9	472
Harrow's Scar	75	0	65	0	541
High House	76	0	60	0	506

The nearest "small" milecastle to Poltross Burn is Walltown, three "miles" to the east, which may be approximately measured from surface indications. The two intervening milecastles, Carvoran and Chapelhouse, are almost obliterated.

At Poltross Burn the north wall of the milecastle corresponds exactly with the other walls in the details of its foundations, and in thickness, which exceeds that

of the Great Wall to the east by over 2 feet. The question naturally prompted by such planning was whether the stone-built milecastle was constructed first, possibly in conjunction with a Wall of turf, like Castlecary Fort on the Wall of Antoninus (*Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, vol. xxxvii)? This question was answered in the negative (*Poltross Burn Report*, p. 403), and the plan of Winshields affords the surest evidence that Wall and milecastles were built at the same time in stone (*Report in preparation*). At High House, however, the conditions are the reverse of those at Poltross Burn, the "north wall" and Great Wall being a continuous work, differing from the side walls of the milecastle in construction, but of the same thickness, upon which the side walls abut (fig. 13).

Judged by such evidence alone, the serious mistake of assigning the milecastle to a later period may easily be made. There is reason to believe that, when first excavated, the side walls at Cawfields were found simply to abut upon the Wall. In an account of the first Pilgrimage along the Wall, in 1849, a report of the excavation in 1846 is given, with a perspective view of the milecastle, in which these features are clearly shown. A theory of the later construction of milecastles in general was founded on this evidence.

In original work these features probably represent the different ideas and methods of construction of individual overseers, and, in the absence of evidence of later rebuilding, the danger of judging from such features is clearly shown in the case of High House, where the value of the evidence of the junctions is nullified by that of the drains on each side of the north gate, which obviously have some relation to the gate of the milecastle, as the two at Birdoswald have to the turret, and yet are contemporary with the foundation course of the Wall.

FIG. 11.—HIGH HOUSE MILECASTLE; S.E. PIER OF N. GATE AND N.E. CORNER.

FIG. 12.—S.W. PIER OF N. GATE AND N.W. CORNER.

The Defences.

The Ditch of the Great Wall.—No trenches were dug across the ditch in 1911, but the berm, ditch and mound of upcast on the north side were surveyed opposite the milecastle (section C D E, pl. xv.) and at Appletree turret (section A B, pl. vii). At the milecastle the berm is about 25 feet wide, and the ditch 32 feet, while the upcast probably covers fully 50 feet. At the turret the works are slightly larger, the berm measuring 27 feet, the ditch 35 feet, and the mound nearly 60 feet.

A section of the ditch made by Mr. P. Newbold near Limestone Bank turret, in 1912, proves that instead of being sharply V-shaped at the bottom, it was deepened to form a narrow flat-bottomed channel (*Arch. Ael.*, 3rd ser., ix.). The Turf Wall ditch is similarly shaped (these *Transactions*, o.s., xiv., p. 188), as also is that of the Antonine Wall (Macdonald, *Roman Wall in Scotland*, p. 100).

A trench was recently dug near the milecastle, which confirms Mr. Newbold's discovery, and makes the conclusion very probable that this is the shape of the ditch of the Wall generally.

No continuation of the road from the north gate was found on the north side of the ditch. Nearly opposite the east wall it is crossed by a modern causeway, probably connected with the buildings on the site. There is no ditch round the milecastle south of the Wall.

The outer walls and Great Wall.—The description of the Great Wall at the turrets applies equally to the "north wall" of the milecastle, which rises from the projecting footing course, without any reduction by offsets, the thickness being 7 feet 7 inches (figs. 11 and 12). There are three drains through the Wall, immediately above the footing course, like those at Birdoswald turret, each about 7 inches wide by the depth of the lowest course. The first is within 9 inches of the east wall.

The others are respectively 12 feet 6 inches east and 11 feet 9 inches west of the middle of the north gate. There were again no traces of built drains, or open gutters, leading to them.

The east, south and west walls are of the same final thickness as the Great Wall, but are built upon a wider footing course. There is the usual offset above that course, and another, about 3 inches wide, above the lowest walling course, on both faces (section A B, pl. xv.) The stones of the lower courses are larger than those used in the Wall, the contrast being specially noticeable at the north-east corner (fig. 11). At both junctions the south facing of the Wall is unbroken, except for a very rough attempt at bonding where the facing stones of the side walls meet it. At the north-west corner the core of the west wall was removed in order to expose the face of the Great Wall behind (fig. 13).

The radius of the outer face at the south-east corner is about 15 feet. The inscribed fragment, No. 4, was found outside the walls at this corner. The destruction of the outer walls from the west side of the south gate to the oven is so complete that in places even the footing course has been removed. At the back of the oven six courses of the west wall remain in position, the highest fragment on the site. The upper courses are reduced in size and similar to those of the Wall (fig. 24).

No signs of reconstruction were noticed in the existing remains of the outer walls.

The Gates.—The evidence of periods of occupation derived from the gates was the feature of the excavation, without which, in view of the disturbed state of the internal buildings, the work would have proved of little value. In plan they are similar to the gates at Poltross Burn (*Report*, p. 406, type III.), having the passages arched at both ends and lengthened by extensions inside the milecastle (plates xiii. and xv.)

Fig. 13.—Junction of Great Wall and W. wall.

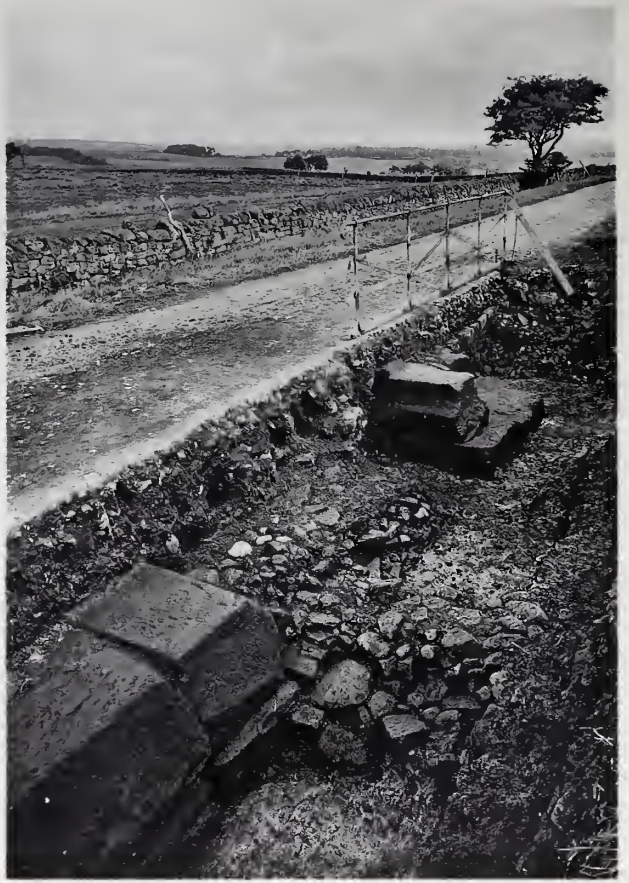


Fig. 14.—S. side of N. Gate, showing Road Levels 1a and 1b.

North Gate.—The piers and passage-walls are constructed throughout of massive masonry, as at Housesteads and Cawfields. Above the footing course, only one course, 17 inches high, remains in position. The corner stone of the south-east extension is missing (fig. 11). The footing course at each side is composed of large stones, well-dressed on the bed and about 9 inches thick. It is carried the full length of the passage and projects beyond the piers above at both ends. The two sides are about 9 feet apart. The stones of the outer piers have a well-dressed chamfer, about 8 inches deep and 3½ inches wide, on two faces (fig. 17). The length of the chamfered base course at the north face is roughly the same as that of the corresponding extension at the south face. The stones of the passage-walls are not chamfered.

The base courses of the extensions are roughly chamfered on the south face nearly the full depth of the course, but on the passage-face they are moulded. On the west pier the moulding (fig. 12), shown in section on pl. xiii., is fairly well cut, but the cable-mould on the east pier is very rough (fig. 11). There were no indications that these stones had been used in any earlier structure.

The width of the entrance above the chamfered bases is 9 feet 9 inches at both the outer and inner piers. The passage-walls are 10 feet 10 inches apart, the projection of the piers being about 7 inches. All the piers are 2 feet wide on the face. The recesses are 6 feet long, making the full length of the passage 10 feet, or 3 feet less than at Poltross Burn. The extensions are each about 4 feet 6 inches wide above the bases and project 2 feet 4 inches from the inner face of the north wall.

Remains indicating three periods of occupation were found at this gate, the details of which correspond so closely with those of the three lower road levels in the north gate at Poltross Burn (*Report*, p. 409), and in the

south gate at Winshields (*Report in preparation*), as to call for careful comparison. The plans and sections, figs. 15 and 16, are reproduced from the reports of those

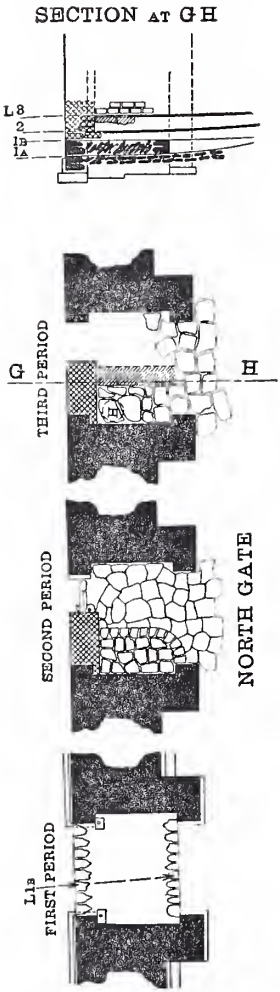


FIG. 15. POLTROSS BURN MILECASTLE.

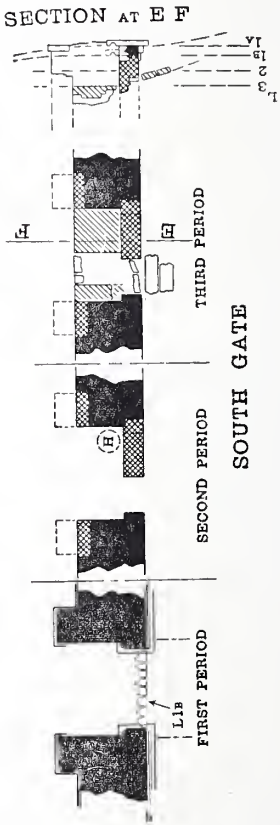


FIG. 16. WINSHIELDS MILECASTLE.

milecastles (scale : 1 inch = 20 feet). The cross-hatching represents second period walls and the single hatching,

in either direction, third period walls, as in plates xiii. and xv. The levels will be described in the order of date, as in the turrets, and not in the order of discovery, as in the Poltross Burn report.

Level 1A.—The pivot-holes of the original double doors are cut in the stones of the footing course, in the usual position in the corners within the outer piers, or jambs. The hole at the east side, which is just distinguishable in fig. 18 (right-hand bottom corner), is well worn, and has a gradually deepening groove leading into it; a familiar feature in many pivot-stones, the purpose of which may have been to facilitate the removal and replacement of the door. The lowest surface of the road from gate to gate was approximately level with the top of the footing course. Slight remains of its gravel surface were traceable between the inner piers. The foundation, composed of cobbles and freestone fragments, was well preserved at the south end of the passage (partially removed in fig. 14), and is seen again below the later walling at the outer face (fig. 17). No remains of a threshold were found.

A few small fragments of pottery, including one piece of the *mortarium*, No. 99, pl. xviii., were found on this surface and at the side of the road, but there were no clear indications of débris between this level and the next above.

At Poltross Burn, the lowest road surface (1A) was unmistakable, but the pivot-stones had been removed. Two courses of walling, in line with the outer face, formed a rough threshold. At Winshields the lowest pivot-holes are sunk in the stones of the footing course, as at High House.

Level 1B.—A layer of road metal covered the lowest surface within the passage. In order to solidify this material, a single course of walling stones, marked L 1B on the "First period" plan, pl. xiii., was built across the roadway in line with the outer face of the bases of the piers. Outside the gate there was some very rough

flagging only, which sloped down towards the 1A surface. A pivot-stone was found in position at each side directly above the lowest pivot-holes, the surface of the stones being about 11 inches above the footing course. In fig. 18 the west stone is seen in position, with the east stone removed and lying as it was found, on the modern road surface. The holes are not as much worn as those below. There are no grooves in the upper stones.

Midway between the jambs is a large dressed stone, 22 inches by 14 inches at the top and about 3 feet long, now leaning outwards, but no doubt upright originally and in line with the jambs. It is much worn and scored as if by weather and the passage of traffic, and was clearly the door-stop at this level, when it would stand 7 inches above the road surface. Its worn appearance suggests that it served the same purpose at the lower level, being raised when the alteration was made.

Very little pottery was found on the road at this level, but the surface, as far as it could be examined at the south side, was covered with loose débris, totally different from the closely packed road-metal below (fig. 14. Débris removed, but seen in section below modern metalling, which is not more than 9 inches deep). This evidence of destruction was confirmed at the outer face, where the forcing outwards of the door-stop disturbed the rough threshold, especially the four stones at the middle (fig. 17). Close to the door-stop a fragment of one of the "top pivot" stones of the doors was found (figs. 17 and 18. Near pivot-stone on road).

At Poltross Burn and Winshields, as at High House, the material between levels 1A and 1B was largely road-metal, and not masonry débris. In both cases the roadway was walled across at the outer face to hold this material together and form a threshold (Poltross Burn two courses, also two at inner face; Winshields one course). The two pivot-stones, indicating double doors

FIG. 17.—NORTH SIDE OF NORTH GATE, LOOKING S.E.

FIG. 18.—PIVOT-HOLES AND DOOR-STOP OF LEVELS 1A AND 1B, AND REDUCING WALLS.

at the 1B level were found in position at Poltross Burn. At that time the alteration of level was thought to be due to some local cause only. It was noticed that the 1B pivot-holes were less worn than those in the two stones, not found in position, which probably belonged to the 1A level, but the detail was not considered worth recording in the report. It should, however, be recorded now, in view of the evidence from both gates at High House.

At Winshields the 1B level was not discovered until 1912. Though one pivot-stone is missing, the evidence is clear that there were double doors at this level, as at Poltross Burn.

In both cases a great disaster and consequent destruction occurred at the end of Period 1B. At Poltross Burn the arches of the gates were thrown down and the piers and outer walls probably badly damaged. At Winshields the whole of the south gate was pulled down to within three or four courses of the ground, the destruction probably extending to the whole milecastle, and to the Great Wall as already described.

Level 2.—At the south end of the passage some broken stone was found, laid upon débris about 8 inches thick, which apparently formed the foundation of a higher roadway. The surface was completely removed. It was probably over 12 inches above level 1B. The *mortaria*, Nos. 114 and 115, pl. xviii., were found in disturbed soil near the west side of the road about this level.

The remains of walls reducing the width of the entrance were discovered at the outer face. The one remaining course was fortunately complete and the full plan was recovered. The entrance has been contracted equally from both sides, by two walls each 3 feet 3 inches long and 2 feet thick, the width of the jambs, from which they are built out. The reduced width of the entrance is only 3 feet 3 inches. At the inside the walls are backed by solid piers, or buttresses, *gnomon*-shaped in plan, the

greater rectangle measuring nearly 3 feet 3 inches by 1 foot 8 inches, and the lesser 1 foot 6 inches by about 12 inches.

Before the walls were erected the débris was evidently removed from level 1B at the north end of the passage, and the stones then laid in mortar directly upon that surface. The door-stop and bulged threshold below were not disturbed. Above the foundations, wall and backing may have been united in a solid mass.

No pivot-stone was found, as the roadway was probably 6 inches above the existing remains. This surface, with any later remains, was evidently removed when the modern road was made.

At Poltross Burn and Winshields the great destruction was followed by a reduction in the width of the entrances at the north and south gates. In each case the reducing-wall is at one side only, the later entrance being at the left-hand side of the passage as viewed from the outside.

At the north gate of Housesteads milecastle the narrowing of the entrance, discovered in 1852, followed a similar destruction (Bruce, *Roman Wall*, 3rd ed., p. 183). In this case the reduction is made equally from both sides, as at High House, but the walling is carried nearly the full length of the passage.

In view of the evident removal of later remains, it should be stated that at Poltross Burn and Winshields floor level 2 was covered with débris, upon which the latest floor (3) was laid. The late cooking-pot ware (" vesicular ") was found only at this level in both cases. The remains of a third period floor were discovered at Birdoswald turret, and some flagging inside the milecastle may belong to that period. These remains, together with the fragments of " vesicular " ware found on the site, afford strong presumptive evidence, as at Appletree turret, that a corresponding floor level existed at the north gate of High House.

The widths of entrances and heights between floor levels are compared in the following table :—

		High House, N. gate.		Poltross Burn, N. gate.		Winshields, S. gate.		Housesteads, N. gate.	
		Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.	Ft.	In.
Width of Entrance	L 1 A	9	9	9	6	8	2	10	0
	L 1 B	9	9	9	6	8	2	?	
	L 2	3	3	4	0	3	8	4	2
	L 3	?		4	0	3	4	?	
Height between levels	1 A—1 B	0	11	1	4½	0	10	3	6
	1 B—2	1	0(+)	0	11	1	8		
	2—3	?		1	7	1	6	?	
Totals	—	—		3	10½	4	0	—	

South Gate.—Only one stone of the footing course remains in position at the west side. It measures 5 feet 5 inches by 2 feet 9 inches by 9 inches in thickness, and forms the foundation of the west extension (fig. 20). At the east side the foundation stone of the outer pier has been removed (fig. 21). The footings of the east extension measure 5 feet 4 inches by 4 feet, the eastern half of which consists of "cobble and clay" packing only. The two sides of the gate are 9 feet 2 inches apart. Above the footing course a short length of the east wall of the passage alone remains. It is built of ordinary walling stones. Fortunately the lines by which the upper courses were set are plainly visible on the footing stones.

The whole structure was somewhat larger than the north gate, but of the same general plan. The passage-walls were nearly 11 feet 6 inches apart, and, if the piers projected 7 inches, the entrance would have been 10 feet 4 inches wide. The piers were about 2 feet wide as usual. The east recess was 7 feet 8 inches long, and the passage therefore 11 feet 8 inches over all.

Two alterations from the original arrangement are traceable at this gate.

Level 1A.—At the east side the pivot-hole corresponding with the earliest roadway was found just within the jamb, cut in the footing stone, with a "groove," as at the north gate (fig. 21). The hole is well worn.

Level 1B.—A flat stone covers the hole, and upon it is a second pivot-stone, the top of which is 8 inches above the footing course. The hole is distinctly less worn than the one below. The material between these levels is the ordinary road-metal seen in fig. 20.

Level 2.—The upper pivot-stone is covered by a block of masonry, only one course of which remains, built upon the 1B surface, similar in shape and size to the "buttresses" backing the reducing-walls at the north gate. It projects 3 feet 5 inches from the passage-wall, and extends 2 feet 5 inches inwards from the jamb, including the smaller rectangle which measures 1 foot 7 inches by 10 inches. The reducing-wall has been entirely removed, but the pivot-stone of the narrowed entrance is in position (fig. 21). There has been no alteration in the general level of the roadway, and the stone is bedded in the road-metal. The flooring of large, well-laid flags within the passage probably belongs to this period. It is unlikely that the flags would have escaped the general destruction at the end of Period 1B.

Though the masonry at the west side of the gate is entirely removed, there is no reason to doubt that both sides were symmetrical, as indicated on pl. xv., reducing the width of the entrance to about 3 feet 6 inches.

No later remains were found.

It is clear that the alterations in level and width of entrance correspond with those at the north gate in plan, and, without doubt, also in date. The upward slope to the south explains the absence of débris, which would cause considerable changes in the levels and make

FIG. 19.—EAST SIDE OF SOUTH GATE AND S.E. CORNER, LOOKING E.

FIG. 20.—SOUTH GATE, LOOKING S.

the gate difficult of access from inside the milecastle, as at Poltross Burn. Outside the north gate, however, steepness of approach was an advantage, rendering the doors less liable to damage during an attack.

The Road.

Between the gates the road was originally about 11 feet wide. It was constructed of cobbles and freestone fragments, the larger stones forming the foundation and the kerbing. The surface was of gravel. No remains of paths, or gutters, were found at the sides. The remade surface (1B) was continuous, but the average thickness of road-metal added was probably less than 6 inches. After the destruction at the end of that period the road was widened, and, opposite the east internal building, almost merged in a general paved area.

Outside the north gate the road expands into a similar roughly paved area which extends to the edge of the ditch.

The road was carried through the south gate to join the Military Way, which passes within 30 feet of the south wall (these *Transactions*, o.s., xiv., p. 189). It is, however, entirely removed beyond the outer face.

Internal Buildings.

At the east side of the road a stone building was found about 15 feet from the north wall of the milecastle and separated from the east wall by a narrow passage (fig. 22). The remains of stone buildings at the west side consist of two short lengths of walling which abut upon the west wall, near the north-west corner (pl. xv.) To the south, areas of rough flagging (F) and hearths (H) suggest that the buildings covered the greater part of the interior (fig. 23).

First Period.—Over the whole area, below the flagging and the walls of the east and west buildings, a layer of

the familiar dark material, containing burnt matter, was invariably met with. It was not easily traceable at the south end, but towards the north it became more clearly marked, and in places contained fallen stone. The greater part of the pottery discovered on the site, including practically all the vessels which can be assigned to the second century, five of the eight coins, Nos. 3-7, and a few fragments of window glass were found in this layer, which must represent the débris of the first period of occupation. Near the west wall a hearthstone was found 35 feet south of the oven, and some flagging (F 1), shown in section F G, pl. xiii., at the lower level, but no remains of stone structures, except the oven, can be assigned to the first period.

Probably the original buildings were of wood, with clay floors, though no post-holes, or remains of sleepers in which uprights could be stepped, were found. The large area within the walls accounts for the small quantity of débris, compared with that found in the turrets.

The *mortaria*, Nos. 96, 99, 100 and 101, were found at the east side of the road near the east building. The flat-rimmed bowl, No. 104, came from the south-east corner, and another, No. 106, from the east side of the road. A fragment of a "rustic" jar was found west of the road, 6 feet from the south gate. The *denarius* of Vespasian, No. 3, was lying close to the west wall, 8 feet south of the later sunk hearth (H2, section F G), and a coin of Trajan, No. 6, almost under the hearth. A second coin of Trajan, No. 4, was found west of the road, 13 feet south of the later flue, and that of Antoninus Pius, No. 7, close to the south wall, 3 feet east of the gate.

Some pottery, including fragments of "rustic" ware, was found below the level of the flagging (F 1) near the west wall. This flooring may correspond with the 1B level in the north gate. What was probably another

FIG. 21.—E. SIDE OF S. GATE, FROM S., SHOWING PIVOT-HOLES OF LEVELS 1A, 1B AND 2.

FIG. 22.—EAST BUILDING, LOOKING N.E.

portion of the 1B flooring was found at the east side of the road about 17 feet from the east building, where pottery, including the *mortarium*, No. 98, was lying apparently on a clay floor, below the flagging, but above the lowest dark layer.

Floors corresponding with the 1B level at the north gate were not noticed in the buildings at Poltross Burn (*Report*, p. 416). Since that time, however, the difficulty of detecting successive clay floors which are not separated by masonry débris, has been demonstrated at Limestone Bank, Peel Crag and Steelrigg turrets, where in each case a clayey mass nearly 12 inches thick, containing burnt matter, but no fallen stone, certainly represented two levels of occupation. At Poltross Burn, signs of the 1B floors were not altogether wanting, and fortunately did not go unrecorded. The first period pottery was divided into two classes:—"Early first period" and "First period (mostly in débris)." The vessels in the first class either came from the 1A level in the north gate or were found "embedded in the clay" of the floors, or "in the surface" of the paths. The laying of another clay floor, or of a gravel-path surface, readily explains how the pottery became "embedded," while the remaking of the hearth in room E1, at a higher level (*Report*, p. 423 and fig. 11), is further evidence of the probable existence of the floor level 1B in the buildings, as well as in the north gate, at that milecastle.

Second Period.—The average outside dimensions of the east building are 19 feet 9 inches (north to south) by 15 feet 10 inches. The walls are 1 foot 6 inches thick above the footings. Clay has been used instead of lime mortar in the walls, the masonry of which is very rough. The narrow entrance, only 2 feet 3 inches in width, is in the north wall, 5 feet 6 inches from the north-west corner. The passage between the building and the outer wall is 2 feet 2 inches wide.

The foundations of the walls are laid upon the débris of the first period. Fragments of several vessels were found under the walls, including a Dr. 31 Samian dish bearing the name-stamp ·ALBI——. The coin of Trajan, No. 5, was lying almost under the west wall. It was unfortunately broken in pieces by the blow of a pick.

The building is very similar in shape and size, within the walls, to the north room in both buildings at Poltross Burn, as enlarged during the second period (*Report*, pl. I.).

The remains of a flagged floor were found, close to the surface and much disturbed. There was a hearth near the middle of the room at this level, below which were some remains of another hearth, the latter probably being that of the first period. Fragments of only one vessel, a large vase with double handles, were found on this floor.

No traces of other buildings were found east of the road. The roughly flagged areas extended to the outer walls, as shown on pl. XV. The flagging north of the building is seen in fig. 11. To the south, in addition to being on a gentle slope throughout, it must have been stepped about half-way between the building and the south wall, the difference in level being about 2 feet (section C D), but in the absence of walling and post-holes, it is uncertain whether this area was roofed or an open yard. The flags were much disturbed and the pottery largely mixed with that of the first period. The inscribed fragment, No. 3, was found at a point where the flags were removed, about 15 feet south of the building. The flags piled together (figs. 19 and 22) formed part of this flooring.

The west building was not independent of the outer walls of the milecastle. Of the two remaining portions of its walls, one, 6 feet long and 22 inches thick, built upon the base of the first period oven, abuts upon the west wall (fig. 24) ; the other, about 8 feet long and 11

feet 4 inches to the south, clearly did so originally, while the flagging (F) extends to the outer walls, as at the east side. The walls have been laid on the débris of the first period, as in the case of the east building, without any cobble and clay bedding. Consequently it was impossible to trace the position of the walls which have been removed.

There is, however, satisfactory evidence that a building extended from the oven to the south wall, probably having a lean-to roof against the west wall. The remains of floors are terraced, but, unlike the flagging at the east side, they have been horizontal at each level. The building was 67 feet long, and was divided into four rooms, of which three were probably of equal length, about 16 feet inside. The north room (1) was only 11 feet 4 inches within the walls, and may have been a later addition. The width of the building is doubtful, but the extent of the floor in the south room (4), and especially the length of the flue in room 2, indicate that it was greater than that of the east building, probably by the width of the passage and inner wall of that building, or about 18 feet 6 inches in all.

The combined area of the two buildings would then be 180 square yards, which may be compared with 208 square yards, the area of the original buildings at Poltross Burn (*Report*, pp. 396-8 and 421-9). The narrowing of the gates and the removal of many turrets after the first great destruction seem to imply a reduction in the strength of the small isolated garrisons on the line of the Wall. Such a reduction should also be indicated by reduced accommodation within the milecastles. At Poltross Burn the eight rooms of the first period were reduced to six in the second, though the area remained unaltered.

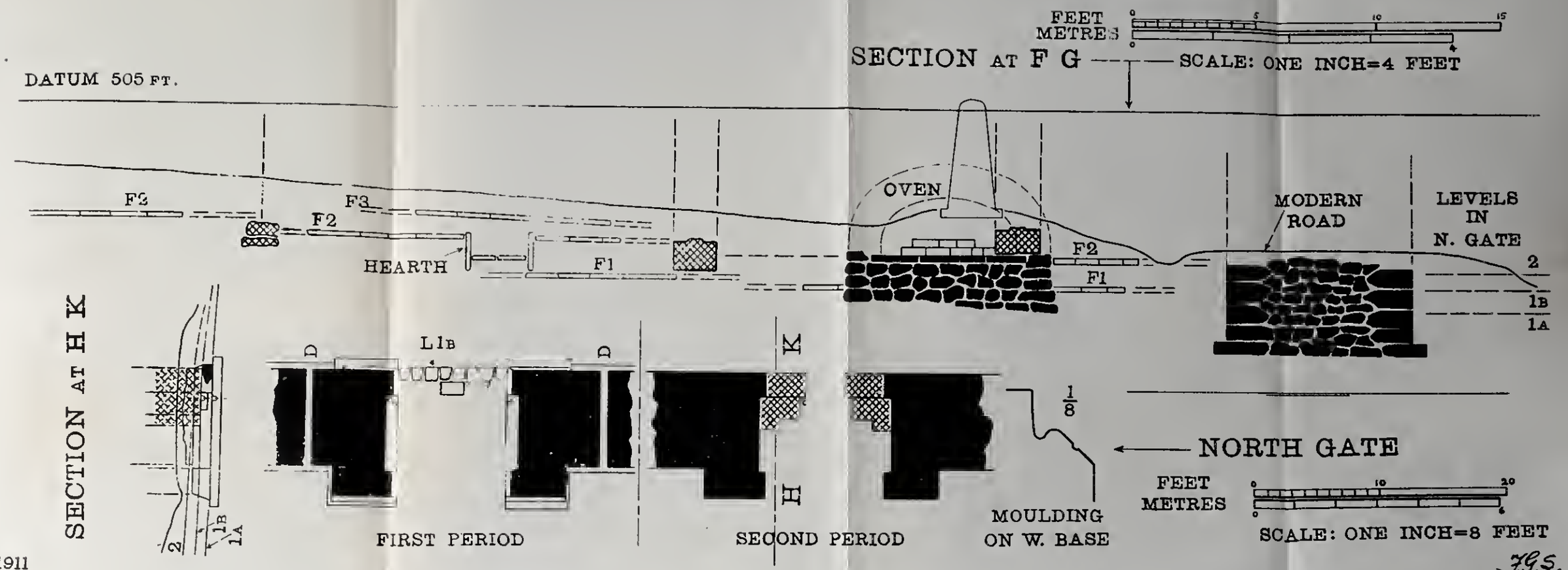
It is probable that the flagged floor of the oven formed part of the floor of room 1, as the flags outside the north wall of the building (fig. 12) were level with the oven

floor (F2, section F G). The floor of room 2 was about 6 inches higher than that of room 1, and fairly well preserved. About the middle of the room was a well-made hearth (H2), 3 feet 6 inches by 2 feet 6 inches, with sides and floor of flags, sunk about 9 inches below the floor level.

At the east end was a channel, or flue, 16 feet long, which turned sharply to the south-east. About 5 feet 6 inches from the hearth it again turned and ran parallel to the north wall of the building, nearly to the edge of the road. Beyond the second turn, it was about 12 inches wide and 9 inches deep, being covered with the flags of the floor (F2), four of which are seen removed and lying at the south side of the flue in fig. 23. The side stones were laid simply on the lower débris. About 2 feet from the road there appeared to be a branch to the south about 7 inches wide. There were no other branches, and it is difficult to understand how the room could be effectively warmed by one flue, or the need of it in addition to such a large open hearth. The *mortarium*, No. 113, was found in this room.

Between rooms 2 and 3 were some remains of a rough retaining wall for the "made" ground at the north end of room 3. There were no signs that regular walling had been built upon it. The difference in level was about 9 inches. No hearth was found on the remaining flags of the floor of room 3. The *mortarium*, No. 97, was found in this area, in a position which might associate it with this period. In room 4 the hearth was found near the south-west corner (H2). The floor was about 1 foot 7 inches above that of room 3. In both rooms there were two layers of flags in places, and the pottery included obviously later fragments. It is probable that approximately the same floor level was used in the third period.

Third Period.—East of the road the only later remains were those of a very roughly constructed wall-face,


FEET
METRES
0
5
10
15
SECTION AT F G
SCALE: ONE INCH=4 FEET
DATUM 505 FT.
F3
F2
F3
F2
HEARTH
F1
OVEN
F2
F1
MODERN
ROAD
LEVELS
IN
N. GATE
2
1B
1A
SECTION AT H K
2
1B
1A
D
L1B
D
K
H
1/8
NORTH GATE
FEET
METRES
0
10
20
0
5
MOULDING
ON W. BASE
SCALE: ONE INCH=8 FEET
FIRST PERIOD
SECOND PERIOD

1911

F.G.S.

within the north-east corner of the east building, and parallel to the north wall (pl. xv.). It appeared to be a reconstruction, at a higher level, of that corner which had clearly been destroyed (fig. 22). The coin of Constantine I., No. 10, was found near the south-east corner of the milecastle at the level of the flagging, which was probably the floor level up to the end of the occupation of the milecastle.

At the west side a fragment of flagging was found which covered the hearth in room 2 and extended towards the road. It was about 9 inches above floor 2 and sloped slightly towards the north-east. The coin of Constantine I., No. 9, was found above it, but no pottery. In the south-west corner there were three rectangular bases of solid masonry, abutting upon each other and two of them touching the outer wall (pl. xv.). Only one course, faced with small squared stones, remained in position. Nothing was found to indicate their purpose.

The Oven.

The position of the oven below the north wall of the second period building at the west side is shown in fig. 24 and pl. xiii. In construction, it closely resembles the oven found at the north-east angle of Haltwhistle Burn Fort (*Arch. Ael.*, 3rd ser., v., p. 246). The oven floor is raised about 16 inches above the general level (F1), on a nearly circular base placed against the outer wall, faced with very rough stonework with a core of cobbles and clay. The flags of the floor show traces of long-continued firing. The oven wall though much destroyed is sufficiently complete to give the size and shape of the interior. It has been nearly circular and measures 5 feet from east to west. The entrance, 19 inches wide, is at the east side. The two flags of the floor at that point project beyond the outer face, forming a hob outside the door, as at Haltwhistle Burn and elsewhere.

A considerable quantity of wood ashes was found heaped against the oven base.

A well preserved oven of this type was discovered outside Winshields milecastle in 1912 (*Report in preparation*). The rough exterior was undoubtedly covered with clay, or turf, and it is probable that in most cases the whole of the interior was lined with clay.

The oven clearly belongs to the first period. A flag found under the base, level with the flooring F 1, section F G, north of the oven, may indicate that the whole structure belongs to period 1B. The coin of Marcus Aurelius, No. 8, was found in the ashes at the south side, just below the level of the oven floor.

No remains of later ovens were discovered.

Steps.

At Poltross Burn a flight of steps, 5 feet 4 inches wide, occupied the north-east corner, and the ovens the north-west corner (*Report*, p. 418). The oven just described is 7 feet from the corner, and no remains of steps were found at the north-east corner. A fragment of walling, one course of four facing stones (pl. xv.), was found at about level F 1, 18 inches north of the oven, parallel to the north wall at a distance of 5 feet 6 inches. The materials used for levelling up this part of the interior were stones and clay, as if to form a foundation. It is probable that the steps occupied this corner at High House.

Notes on the "Finds."

THE INSCRIBED STONES.

By F. Haverfield, LL.D., F.S.A.

No. 1.—Slab bearing a record of building by legionary soldiers, 12 inches by 22 inches, with somewhat irregular letters $2\frac{3}{4}$ inches high :—

FIG. 23.—REMAINS OF WEST BUILDING, LOOKING W.

FIG. 24.—OVEN, LOOKING N.W.

(1) LEG $\overline{\text{VI}}$ VIC
P FIDELIS
F

(2) VIV
I

leg(io) vi vic(trix) p(ia) fidelis f(ecit).

"Erected by legion vi, victorious, loyal and faithful."

No. 2.—Small fragment, 5 inches by 6 inches, with small coarse letters 2 inches high. The first line plainly was *leg vi v;* the second line probably contained the other titles of the legion, as on No. 1.

The two stones were found lying in débris above the highest (*i.e.*, latest) floor of the High House turret. It is not possible to assign any date to them, save the very general limitation arising from the fact that the 6th legion reached Britain about 120 A.D. Out of 48 or 50 inscriptions of this type which have been found on the line of the Wall, and record the building or re-building work of one or other of the three British legions (ii., vi., and XX.), 18 seem to belong to legion vi. One of these comes from Benwell, one probably from near Heddon, one from Chesters, and one from Carraw; the rest have been found at points west of Housesteads, and five of them on or near the line of the Wall between Birdoswald and Lanercost. One such fragment, found in 1849 "in the Milecastle to the west of the station," and now in Tullie House (Catalogue No. 120), is especially similar to the new find (No. 1), and, as its provenance also suggests, may be by the same hand. It is figured in the *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, No. 394.

Only one can be dated with accuracy. This is the stone probably found near Heddon and belonging to A.D. 158.* It is probable that the VIth legion from York was employed on the Wall on many occasions. The

* C.I.L. vii., 563; *Eph. Epigr.* ix., p. 584.

lettering of our two stones does not suggest, though it does not actually disprove, an early date.

No. 3.—Fragment, 7 inches by 7 inches, with letters 1 to $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches high. The letters are "rustic" rather than rude in form, but are not very well made. Found lying loose in the High House milecastle:—

No. 3.

No. 4.

leg(io) ii Aug(usta coh.) vii su(b) . . . ra (probably *sub cura*). "Set up by legion II., AUGUSTA, cohort VII., under the command of . . ." A stone of the same character as Nos. 1 and 2, recording building or repairs by legionaries.

No. 4.—Fragment, 11 inches by 16 inches, with large letters, 5 inches tall and well made. Found outside the south-east corner of the High House milecastle, lying loose. This seems to be part of an ambitious legionary building-record, possibly of a vexillation—spelt *vexsil-(latio)*—of *Legio ii Aug(usta)*. But it is not quite clear that the last letter is really a "g," and, without more of the lettering, certain interpretation is not possible.

The dating of these two records of building is as difficult as that of Nos. 1 and 2. Twenty-two such records of *Legio ii* have been found on the Wall, and eight or ten of *Legio xx*, and soldiers from both legions must have

been often employed in military works. The lettering of both Nos. 3 and 4 is much better, and might well be earlier than that of Nos. 1 and 2. No. 4 in particular suggests a date which might be as early as Hadrian or Pius, and is probably not very much later.

THE COINS.

By H. H. E. Craster, M.A., F.S.A.

Birdoswald Turret.

Only two coins were found here, namely, a *sestercius* of Vespasian and a *dupondius* of Domitian. The good condition of the latter, and the fact that both coins found on the site are Flavian, favour the assignment of an early date to the original building, namely the first half of the second century, and probably the reign of Hadrian.

High House Milecastle.

The milecastle produced eight coins, viz., a silver *denarius* of Vespasian; three bronze coins of Trajan, one of Pius and one of Marcus (one coin of Trajan being a "second brass," the remainder all *sestercii*); and two coins of Constantine the Great, dating A.D. 309-314. One of the two coins of Constantine was found above the only remaining fragment of the third or upper floor; the other was found at a point where all the floors merged into one. The other coins were all found below the level of the second floor, and evidently belong to a second century occupation. They do not require an occupation earlier than the time of Antoninus Pius; but the evidence which they give is fairly conclusive as to occupation during the second half of the second century. The fact that the latest coins belong to the early part of the reign of Constantine the Great, added to the similar evidence previously obtained from the milecastles at Poltross Burn

(*Report*, p. 437) and Winshields, strengthens the theory that the milecastles along the line of the Wall may have ceased to be garrisoned after about 325.

COIN TABLES.

Birdoswald Turret.

VESPASIAN.

No.	Obverse.	Reverse.	Remarks.
1	Laureated head r.	Indecipherable.	*Sestercius :* decayed.

DOMITIAN.

2	IMP CAES DOMIT AVG GERM COS [XVI] CENS PER P P Radiated head r.	VIRTVTI AVGVSTI S C Virtus standing r. with spear and parazonium.	*Dupondius :* A.D. 92-94 (?) ; Cohen 2nd ed. 659 (?) ; very fair condition.

High House Milecastle.

VESPASIAN.

3	IMP CAESAR VESPASIANVS AVG Laureated head r.	COS ITER TR POT Fortune seated l. with branch and caduceus.	*Denarius :* A.D. 70 ; Cohen, 1st ed. 36 ; very fair condition.

TRAJAN.

4	Laureated bust r.	Seated figure (Dacia ?) l.	*Sestercius :* A.D. 98-117 ; much decayed.
5	IMP CAES NERVAE TRAIANO AVG GER DAC PM TR P COS . . P P	[S P Q R OPTIMO PRINCIPI S C]	*Dupondius* or *as :* A.D. 105-116 ; Unworn, but greatly decayed.
6	IMP CAES NER TRAIANO OPTIMO AVG GER DAC PARTHICO P M TR P COS VI P P Laureated and draped bust r.	ARMENIA ET MESOPOTAMIA IN POTESTATEM P R REDACTAE S C Trajan standing with spear and parazonium, placing l. foot on Armenia (personified) ; on either side recumbent figures of the Euphrates and Tigris.	*Sestercius :* A.D. 116-7 ; Cohen 2nd ed. 39 ; a rare reverse.

ANTONINUS PIUS.

No.	Obverse.	Reverse.	Remarks.
7	ANTONINVS AVG PIVS P P TR P XVII Laureated head r.	LIBERTAS COS IIII S C Libertas r. with cap and l. hand outstretched.	*Sestercius :* A.D. 154; Cohen 2nd ed. 535; good condition.

MARCUS AURELIUS.

8	AVRELIVS CAESAR AVG PII F[IL] Uncrowned head r.	[IVVENTAS S C] Marcus standing l., behind him a trophy.	*Sestercius :* A.D. 140 161 ; fair condition.

CONSTANTINE THE GREAT.

9	IMP CONSTANTINVS P F AVG Laureated and cuirassed bust r.	SOLI INVICTO COMITI Sungod facing, raising r. hand and holding globe.	A.D. 309-313 ; mint mark $\frac{*\,\vert}{\text{PLN}}$ London mint ; Cohen 2nd ed. 536.
10	IMP CONSTANTINVS AVG Laureated and cuirassed bust r.	SOLI INVICTO COMITI Sungod facing, raising r. hand and holding whip.	A.D. 309-314 ; mint mark $\frac{\text{T}\,\vert\,\text{F}}{\text{PTR,}}$ Trier mint ; Cohen 2nd ed. 530.

OBJECTS OF BRONZE, Etc.

Birdoswald Turret.

Fig. 38. 1.—Dog-*fibula ;* length, $1\frac{5}{8}$ inches ; decorated with enamel, green and yellow spots on blue ground ; hinged pin. Floor 1B.

2.—Compass-arm, of white bronze ; length, $2\frac{1}{4}$ inches ; iron point (broken) fixed in slot in bronze in same manner as the points of modern drawing instruments ; decorated with enamel, $1\frac{1}{16}$ inches by $\frac{5}{16}$ inches, blue, red and black mosaic. Floor 1B.

3.—Object of unknown use; length, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Floor 2.

4.—Tubular sheath. Outside walls.

Appletree Turret.

5.—Penannular brooch; diameter, $1\frac{3}{8}$ inches. Floor 1B.

6.—Penannular brooch; diameter, $1\frac{1}{8}$ inches. Outside walls.

8.—Leaf-shaped stud. Floor 2.

9.—Ornament; attached, probably to leather, by rivetted clasp. Outside walls.

10.—Object of unknown use; length, $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches. Outside walls.

High House Milecastle.

11.—Intaglio; hard, dull red stone, polished. East side, probably first period.

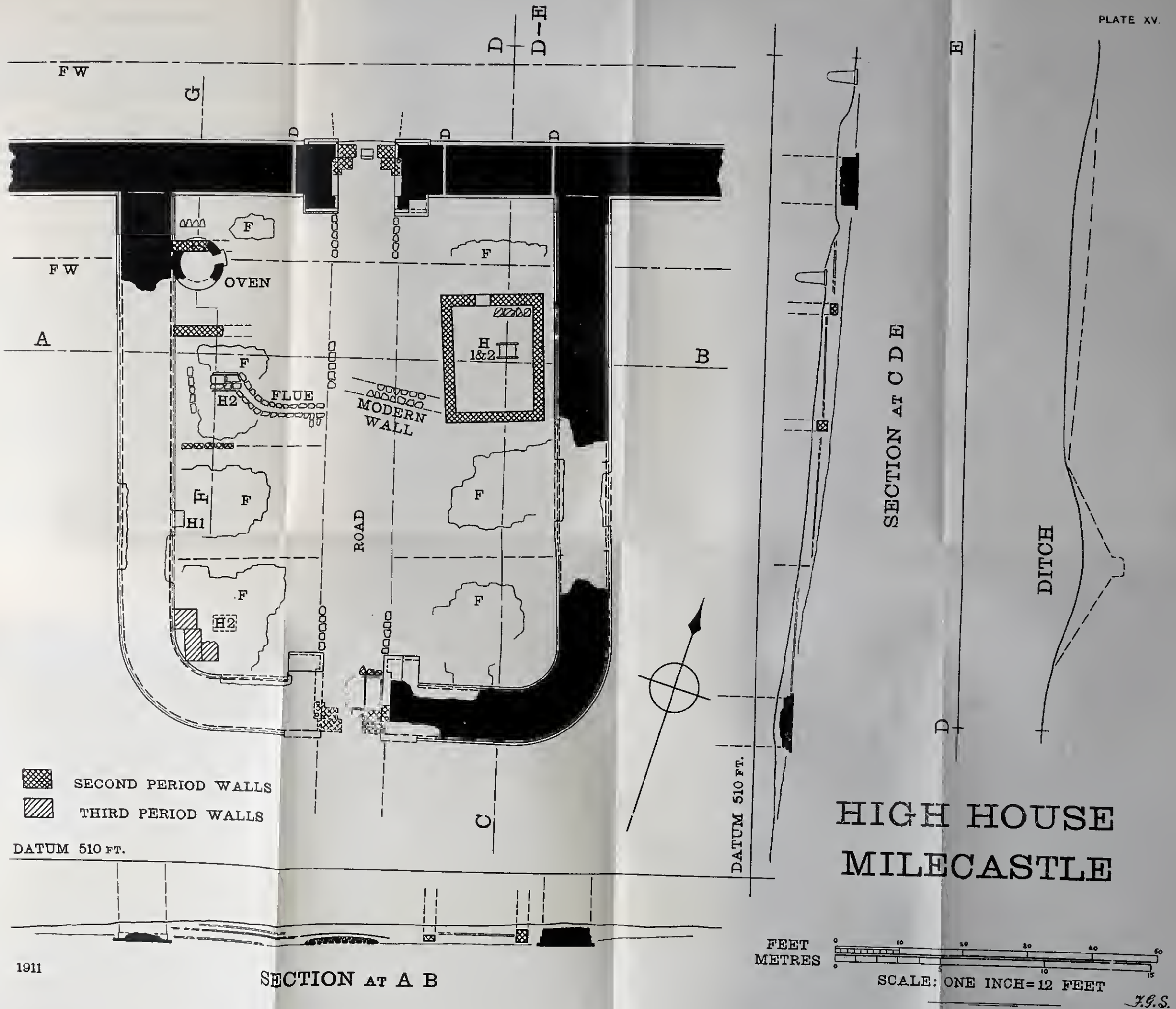
13.—*Fibula*; length, $1\frac{3}{8}$ inches; hinged pin. Found in flue, room W 2, first or second period.

Stone.

In addition to the inscribed stones and other objects already described, fragments of one lower and four upper millstones were found at High House milecastle. They are of the ordinary flat type, average diameter 14 inches, and of local stone. One stone came from the first period débris. Two fragments of thin flagstone, scored with lines at right angles to form "draught" boards, and part of an open lamp, with circular reservoir cut in a rough triangular stone 11 inches by 9 inches by $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick, were found at uncertain levels.

Iron.

Very few iron objects were found. In addition to a number of nails there were four spear-heads, each about 8 inches long. One came from floor 2 in room W 2, one from below that floor, and the others from uncertain levels.



1911

SECTION AT A B

Glass.

Small fragments of window glass were found at each site, also portions of bottles. A melon-shaped bead, of blue glass-paste, No. 7, fig. 38, came from outside the walls at Appletree turret, and a plain bead of green glass, No. 12, from High House milecastle.

Tiles.

No fragments of roofing-tiles were found at the turrets, nor was the quantity from the milecastle large enough to indicate that the roofs were tiled. The roofing throughout was probably of "stone slates," as at Poltross Burn.

THE POTTERY AND THE PERIODS OF OCCUPATION.

By P. Newbold.

The work of the Cumberland Excavation Committee in the years 1895-1900 resulted in the hypothesis that the remains of a Turf Wall, to the south of the line of the Stone Wall on which the milecastle at High House and the turrets at Birdoswald, High House and Appletree are situated, represent the surviving portion of the work of Hadrian, and that the Stone Wall at this point and elsewhere is of later date and possibly to be ascribed to Severus. This theory has been generally accepted up to the present,* and in examining the pottery found in these four structures attached to the Stone Wall it is particularly important to find an answer to two questions: (1) Can any of this pottery be dated to the second century? (2) If so, do any of the fragments indicate with certainty

* By Haverfield: *Mommsen, Provinces of the Roman Empire* (English translation, 1909), vol. ii., p. 351; *Edinburgh Review*, No. 436 (April, 1911), p. 482; *Encyclopædia Britannica*, ed. xi., art. *Roman Britain*, and *Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. i., p. 369. Oman: *England before the Norman Conquest*, 1910, p. 113; and Stuart-Jones: *Companion to Roman History*, 1912, p. 249.

a Hadrianic occupation of these buildings? That the answer to (1) is in the affirmative is obvious at once after a cursory glance at the actual pieces, or the sections in pl. xvi.-xviii., and needs no demonstration. A closer study is necessary to determine if any of this second century pottery can be brought down to the narrower limit of the reign of Hadrian.

What data have we for distinguishing between the types of pottery in use in Hadrianic and Antonine times? (1) The chronology of Samian ware has been settled in outline, even if still somewhat uncertain or disputable in detail, by French and German writers, on the rich evidence from the sites of its manufacture, or from grave-groups on the Continent. For certain other fabrics, the dating of similar types in Germany or Gaul is useful, though continental analogy must be used with caution, except where corroborated by finds in Britain. (2) In Scotland we have two distinct periods of Roman occupation; firstly, the Flavian-Trajanic occupation, roughly from 80-117 A.D.,* and secondly, the Antonine episode of about forty years, 140-180 A.D. For remains of the reign of Hadrian the district north of the Cheviots is at present a blank. (3) The latest coin found in the fort at Gellygaer in South Wales is one of Hadrian, and it is generally agreed that the fort was abandoned in some part, possibly the early years, of the reign of Hadrian. (4) At Corbridge the general occupation level and main buildings date from the re-occupation of Scotland under Lollius Urbicus. Underlying this level for the most part is another which has yielded a considerable amount of Flavian-Trajanic pottery. Whether the site was occupied or not during Hadrian's reign is as yet uncertain; but "definitely pre-Hadrianic and definitely Antonine types

* The lowest estimates for the end of the Flavian occupation of Newstead coincide with the troubles about the time of Hadrian's accession. Others would place it much earlier. See *Journal of Roman Studies*, vol. i., p. 135.

of pottery are never obtained together in a clearly stratified deposit."* Thus, definitely Hadrianic pottery has rarely been distinguished as yet by our excavators. But on several of these sites certain well-defined types of pottery occur in the Flavian-Trajanic levels which do not appear in the Antonine deposits. Somewhere, then, between these two epochs these types must have fallen out of use.

Some of them were found in each of the four buildings under discussion; where the deposit was stratified, they were met with only in the lowest level. The most important of these are—in Samian, a flat-flanged bowl (Curle, *Newstead*, pl. xxxix., fig. 11), the forerunner of Dr. 38; the small double-rolled cup with rolls well developed (Dr. 27) which is quite distinct in quality and shape from the larger, more flat-sized vessels of the same shape which last till near the end of the second century; and a thin, generally flat-based, variety of Dr. 31 of good colour with peculiar matt surface glaze: in coarse wares, a bowl with more or less angular side and flat, reeded rim (*Poltross Burn Report*, pl. iii., Nos. 1-6): a type of jug with a series of well-developed mouldings or steps on the neck, and usually a sharp angle at the junction of neck and body (Curle, *Newstead*, fig. 33, Nos. 1-4); another jug with the mouth pressed in to form a spout (*Ibid.*, fig. 33, No. 9); and vases with raised "rustic" ornament (*Ibid.*, pl. xlvi., No. 29). All these fashions appear commonly in the first century and early years of the second, but are not found in post-140 levels.†

Discussing the High House excavations, Professor Haverfield says:‡ "In my opinion they [*i.e.*, the earliest

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* *Corbridge Report*, 1911, p. 122 = *Arch. Ael.*, 3rd ser., viii., p. 258.

† Of course one cannot be dogmatic on this point. A stray example may turn up in an Antonine level, but could not invalidate the large amount of evidence already accumulated.

‡ *Jahrbuch* of the German Imperial Institute, 1912, Band xxvii., p. 489 ff.

potsherds] are to be ascribed to somewhat later than Hadrian and earlier than the middle of the century"—a statement which can only signify a period of less than the twelve years 138-150, though doubtless Professor Haverfield did not intend it to be taken quite so literally. If this opinion is right, why are these types absent from the forts on the Scottish Wall and from the Antonine *strata* at Newstead and Corbridge?

Further, the types enumerated above are by no means the only relics in the High House milecastle and turrets of Flavian-Trajanic fashions. There are several other less definite, but, taken altogether, very distinctive indications in the lowest levels of pre-Antonine wares; for instance the large proportion of red, yellow, buff and white fabrics,* and of a coarse, light-grey ware, generally badly made, of white clay with porous appearance: the number of jars with moulded bases, and of short, angular and sharply moulded rims, mainly belonging to small vases of the "rustic" type: the occurrence of vessels which have been mended with rivets in Roman times. The last is a feature which Knorr (*Die Verzierten Terra-Sigillata-Gefässe von Rottweil*, p. 31/2) notes as peculiar to early Samian in districts remote from the factories, and as far as my own observations go, it is common only on early types in this country. Some of the above details occur, of course, in the second half of the century, but in much smaller proportions than in the Flavian-Trajanic period. Details like these are also not always easy to describe or to recognise from illustrations, but they will be appreciated by anyone who handles the actual fragments.

The appearance of all these forms and fashions in the lowest level (Period IA) in the turrets and milecastle

* These as usual are mostly very broken fragments. The large proportion of (generally thin) red and white wares in the Flavian-Trajanic levels at Corbridge is always a striking feature.

marks this level off distinctly from the Antonine levels at Corbridge and Newstead. The latter correspond exactly in point of pottery with the remains of Period Ib in the Wall structures. The dates suggested by Professor Haverfield, quoted above, would allow at the most from two to five years for these fashions to disappear from the district almost entirely. If, on the other hand, we suppose that Period Ia (*i.e.*, the period beginning with the erection of the stone watch-towers incorporated in the Wall) commences at an early date in Hadrian's reign, we should have a lapse of practically twenty years for the change of fashion to take place.

Again, anyone who studies Mr. Curle's elaborate treatment of the Newstead pottery cannot fail to observe that a remarkable change of types has taken place between the Flavian-Trajanic and the Antonine periods. Five years' work on the Corbridge pottery has convinced me that this difference is more considerable and distinctive than any developments that took place later. Common continental types and shapes disappear and more local forms develope and predominate. Is it hazardous to suggest that the change is due to events which must have followed the establishment of the Tyne-Solway frontier line in the early years of Hadrian—the introduction of considerable bodies of fresh troops, the opening up of the resources of the district, and probably the foundation of local potteries in place of the use of vessels imported from York, the south, or oversea?

Lastly, the supporters of the Turf Wall theory maintain that the reconstruction of the barrier in stone followed exactly the same line as Hadrian's original work in turf, except for the short stretch west of Birdoswald. Accepting this hypothesis, one would expect the buildings along this particular stretch to show at least one occupation-level less than the milecastles and turrets along the rest of the line; that occupation-level would represent the

period before the reconstruction in stone, and would here be found on the remaining piece of the Turf Wall itself.* But the facts do not bear out this conclusion. The High House buildings show exactly the same number and series of floor levels as the buildings elsewhere, and the pottery from each of these levels corresponds exactly with the pottery from the same levels in other turrets and milecastles. This correspondence is particularly striking in the lowest *stratum*, where some or all of the Flavian-Trajanic types enumerated above appear in all the excavated structures, from which the pottery has been preserved, from Appletree turret eastwards to Limestone Bank turret.

The conclusion seems inevitable that the High House milecastle and the three turrets adjoining were erected simultaneously with the milecastles and turrets along the rest of the line from Birdoswald to Limestone Bank; that certain Flavian-Trajanic fashions in pottery, which are found in the bottom *stratum* of the Wall structures, survived into the early part of Hadrian's reign, but had fallen out of use before CORSTOPITUM was laid out as a military depot and Scotland re-occupied in the early years of Pius; and that, consequently, the High House milecastle and turrets, like the rest, were erected at the same time as, and formed part of, the Wall of Hadrian. That they were erected in stone and were contemporaneous and homogeneous with the Stone Wall is shown elsewhere in this and other reports by Mr. Simpson and myself.†

It remains to discuss what evidence is provided by the pottery for the delimitation of the periods denoted by the successive floor-levels. Period I., which is represented by two floors (IA and IB) separated by a small

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* As a matter of fact excavations have failed to discover any traces of buildings or even of a road along the line of the Turf Wall.

† See *Archæologia Aeliana*, 3rd series, ix., and these *Transactions*, N.S., xi., p. 403, etc.

amount of rubbish, produced pottery ranging from early Hadrianic to late Antonine forms; there is no piece which could not well fall within the second century. Floor IB, where its débris was distinguishable from that of IA, is characterised by the absence of the early Hadrianic styles. Period II. produced very little,* but the fragments may well date from the third century.

Period III. was even more poorly represented in the stratified deposits; but the few stratified pieces point to a late third, or fourth, century date. Although for the most part this latest level has been removed, High House milecastle, Birdoswald turret, and the rubbish-heaps outside Appletree turret yielded a few late third, or fourth, century fragments which must belong to this period; but the small amount of the typical fourth-century cooking-pot ware and the comparative or entire absence of other characteristic late types (*e.g.*, of Castor and the painted platters of this epoch) may possibly be taken as a slender piece of evidence to strengthen Mr. Craster's tentative conclusion† from numismatic testimony that the milecastles, and one would add *ipso facto* the turrets, were not occupied after about 330 A.D.

It will be observed that the evidence here for the periods of occupation agrees closely with that obtained from the milecastle at Poltross Burn.‡

In the following detailed description of the potsherds, *Poltross Burn* refers to the report on "The Milecastle . . . at the Poltross Burn" (these *Transactions*, N.S., xi., p. 390 ff.); *Corbridge Report*, 1911, to Mr. J. P. Bushe-Fox's account of the pottery from some important stratified deposits at Corbridge in *Arch. Ael.*, 3rd ser., viii., pp. 168-185.

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* In the milecastle the absence of much stratification made it only occasionally possible to note sherds as definitely belonging to the second *stratum*.

† *Poltross Burn Report*, p. 438.

‡ *Op. cit.*, p. 460

The pottery should be compared with that from Winshields milecastle, Steelrigg, Peel Crag, and Limestone Bank turrets. The account and illustrations of the last named will be found in *Arch. Ael.*, 3rd ser., ix.; detailed reference to this report is impossible as it is appearing simultaneously with this volume.

BIRDOSWALD TURRET.

Remains of the usual four superimposed floors, found in the turrets and milecastles of the Roman Wall, survived in this turret only in the recess, the rest of the structure having been removed in the early part of the last century. Hence the quantity of pottery was small. With a few exceptions it was not possible to distinguish between the fragments belonging to floors I A and I B.

PERIOD I. (=Floors I A and I B).

Samian. Pl. XIX., No. 1. Dr. 37. About one quarter of a small, thin well-moulded vessel with good glaze and a narrow convex rim. The ovolo is separated by a crinkly line from the decoration which shews a scroll pattern continuing all round the vessel; each volute encloses pointed leaves diverging to left and right, a style exceedingly common on Samian of the late first and early second centuries (cf. Knorr *Die Verzierten Terra-Sigillata-Gef.von Rottweil* Taf. i., 12, Taf. ii., 1, 2, and *Südgallische Terra-Sig. Gef. von Rottweil* Taf. iii., 1, 5, 8, Taf. iv., 1, 3, 5, 8 and Curle, *Newstead*, p. 211, fig. 5, and p. 215, fig. 8). Even allowing for the tendency of Knorr and other continental writers to push back the dates of the earlier Samian types too far,* this piece cannot be later than the early years of Hadrian; it was found at the same level as the two coins of the Flavian emperors and definitely belongs to Period I A. The same period is represented by an almost complete Dr. 27 cup (d. $4\frac{1}{4}''$) with remains of lead rivets in the rim. It is well made, and its small size and well-rolled sides distinguish it from the larger flattened Antonine cups of this shape. Dr. 31 was represented by eight fragments, one of which was of very thin ware, with the dull matt glaze which is common on the plain Samian of the first and early second century. One piece possibly belonged to a Dr. 33.

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* See Haverfield, *Röm.-Germ. Korrespondenzblatt*, 1912, p. 29.

Mortaria (4).* Pl. xvi., No. 1, is of hard red fabric; a detached fragment has an illegible stamp; No. 2 (internal d. 8⅓″) is of much the same ware and shape, but has no groove on the extremity of the flange. It is stamped on each side of the spout. No. 3 (internal d. 7½″), a small fragment, is red. Another fragment (from floor I B), of pink clay with cream surface wash, is much like No. 3. All these probably belong to floor I B. No. 4 (internal d. 9″) is of light grey, gritty clay. It was found outside the walls of the turret; but its wide flattish flange would bring it into this period, and it probably came from floor I A, cf. *Poltross Burn*, pl. iv., Nos. 2, 6.

Bowls (2). No. 5, a cylindrical vessel very like *Poltross Burn*, pl. iii., Nos. 9, 10, is red with polished surface and lattice decoration. Another vessel of similar shape and soft, red paste seems to have had a cream surface wash. It has no grooves or ornamentation. This type of cylindrical bowl of red or brown ware has been found also in Steelrigg and Peel Crag turrets in each case, as at Poltross Burn and here, in Period I deposits. It has not occurred to my knowledge at Corbridge, and therefore is probably pre-Antonine in date and would belong to Period I A.

Jug (1). No. 6, a single-handled jug-neck of hard, pinkish-yellow ware; it has four steps or mouldings and apparently joined the body at a sharp angle, both details being characteristic of the first and early second centuries; cf., *e.g.*, Curle, *Newstead*, p. 261 and 267.

Dishes (16). Fragments of four vessels of pink and brown ware, a typical section of which is shewn in No. 8 (d. 6″), which has a polished surface. All have a single groove on the exterior of the rim. Of fourteen fragments having the same fabric, colour and lattice-work ornamentation as cooking-pots, eight have short, flat rims of the types shewn in *Poltross Burn*, pl. iii., Nos. 31–33, and six have grooved rims like *Ibid.*, No. 30.

Jars (about 13). No. 7 is a small, thin well-baked vase of pink clay with sharply moulded rim and foot and "rough-cast" exterior surface. This type appears in Period I at Poltross Burn milecastle, Appletree and Limestone Bank Turrets, at Corbridge in a deposit of the latter part of the second century, and at Haltwhistle Burn and Throp forts. The rough-cast covering of the exterior does not seem to last into the third century, though the form of vessel persisted in Castor and other

* The figures in brackets after each type of vessel give the total estimated number of that type represented by the fragments discovered.

wares; but the later developments of the type shew a narrower mouth, more elongated foot with no moulding and the greatest expansion of the body higher up. For the type cf. *Corbridge Report*, 1911, p. 41. It occurs commonly in the first century, and on the continent Koenen notes its occurrence in graves from Flavian to Antonine times (*Gefässkunde*, p. 86). Nos. 9–13 (average d. 5″) are all of well-baked, hard, grey ware; Nos. 10 and 11 have a vitreous surface; No. 12 is of yellow paste but smoked grey on the exterior; No. 13 has the angular rim characteristic of earlier second century vessels. No. 14 (d. 7″) is a less common type and has rivet holes in the rim. No. 14a, pl. xxvi., of hard, grey ware, with burnished surface, came from floor 1A.

Cooking-pots (8). Nos. 15–18 (d. 3½″, 3½″, 5¼″, 5½″) are all of the usual black sandy character with lattice-work ornament. Nos. 17 and 18 have the concave part of the neck decorated by a wavy line, a detail which does not appear to continue much later than 150 A.D. On the Wall it is confined to the lowest levels, and was common on the cooking-pots from Caersws.

PERIOD II.

Jars (6). Nos. 19–22 (average d. 5″) all of hard, grey ware with more or less polished surface and lattice decoration.

Dishes (2). One with rolled rim like *Corbridge Report*, 1911, fig. 6, No. 81, and one with grooved rim like *Poltross Burn*, pl. iii., No. 30.

This level also produced a rough, open, pear-shaped lamp of red clay which had once had some kind of surface slip. An exactly similar lamp was found in High House milecastle in conjunction with pottery belonging to Period I.

PERIOD III.

Mortarium (1). A fragment of a base in white clay with opaque white grit. From its character it would seem to have been of the "hammer-head" type.

Jars (5). Nos. 23, 24 (d. 5¾″, 4¾″). Although in shape they differ little from the earlier vessels, these jars are of quite distinct fabric. The clay is much more finely levigated and compact, and the ware is burnt hard and of a blue-grey colour. It occurs commonly in the later levels on the Wall and at Corbridge, and was well represented in the late fourth century fort at Huntcliff, near Saltburn.

Dishes (3). One is of the rolled rim type and two have the plain grooved rim (cf. *Corbridge Report*, 1911, fig. 6, Nos. 81 and 83).

UNSTRATIFIED (from outside the walls).

Samian. Three fragments of decorated bowls, Dr. 37. (*i.*) Pl. xix., No. 2, has a wide plain rim, and in a small medallion a figure of a warrior running to the right (Déch. 103), which is a common Lezoux type and occurs on vessels signed by Albucius. This piece was met with low down in the deposit, and from its position and character probably belongs to Period I B, *i.e.*, the latter half of the second century. (*ii.*) Pl. xix., No. 3, a fragment from near the base of a thick and coarsely moulded bowl, decorated in the free style with crowded animals, among which Déch. 795 and 799 may possibly be recognised. Lezoux ware of the late second or third century. (*iii.*) A mere fragment of rim with largish ovolo.

Of the undecorated ware the most important was a piece of a flat flanged bowl (Curle, *Newstead*, pl. xxxix., fig. 11), which is a common Flavian and Trajanic type, but, as Curle remarks (*Ibid.*, p. 198), does not appear after the reign of Hadrian; from its extreme rareness in the Wall structures it would seem not to have lasted far into that reign. Dr. 31 was represented by six fragments and Dr. 38 by a piece of curved flange.

Other Wares. A fragmentary jug-neck of thin red ware with a white wash shews at least four mouldings, but they are not very developed. No. 25 (d. 4½″) is the sharply moulded rim of a hard, light grey jar; from its angular contour it should belong to Period I A. For the same reason I should attribute to that period the cooking-pots shewn in Nos. 26, 27 (d. 6″). Both are of uncommon types and made of exceedingly gritty clay with dense black, rough surface. With these and No. 25 cf. Ward, *Gellygaer*, pl. xi., Nos. 2, 6. No. 28 (d. 8″), a mere fragment of the rim of a dish or bowl, is noticeable for its width (1″) and flatness, and is more akin to the early flat-rimmed bowls (*e.g.*, *Poltross Burn*, pl. iii., Nos. 4–6) than to the later dishes (*e.g.*, *Corbridge Report*, 1911, fig. 6, Nos. 78, 80, 82). It is of yellow clay with grey smoked surface, which again is a peculiarity of the pre-Antonine vessels; cf. *Gellygaer*, pl. x., Nos. 1, 4, 8, which are not later than the reign of Hadrian. Nos. 29–33 (average d. 5″) are examples of cooking-pots. No. 34 is a plain, shallow dish in soft red clay, and noteworthy for that reason. Among the other fragments are three (possibly belonging to a single

pot) of the black cooking-pot ware containing numerous particles of some white substance,* so common in the fourth century. This ware must belong here to Period III., as it does at Poltross Burn and Winshields milecastles and Appletree turret. It has never† been found in a turret which was abandoned at the end of Period I. (*e.g.*, High House, Steelrigg, Limestone Bank), or in a Period II. level. This fact gives us a clue to the date of the introduction of this ware, which will fall somewhere in the closing years of the third century.

HIGH HOUSE TURRET.

In common with all the other turrets so far excavated whose walls were taken down and recess built up, this turret has only two floors, together representing Period I.

PERIOD I A.

Samian. Dr. 37, three small fragments (pl. xix., Nos. 4 and 5), rather thick, one of which belonging to the lower part of a bowl, shews apparently a row of small medallions; the pieces are too small and indeterminate to be of any value. A portion of the base and side of a small Dr., 27, is important. There was also a small fragment of a thin Dr., 31, with the matt glaze of early second century plain Samian.

Mortarium (1). No. 35, a broken rim of red, soft clay.

Dishes (2). A fragment of rim of red ware much like No. 8, and another of whitish clay with grey surface resembling Curle, *Newstead*, fig. 32, No. 7.

Jars (6). No. 36 (d. 6½″), dirty grey, sandy clay; distinctly an early type, cf. No. 25. No. 37 (d. 5″), hard, vitreous blue-grey surface. All the fragments of jars are of a more or less gritty coarse clay, which is characteristic of the vessels of this type in the first half of the second century. The quality of the fabric improves till we come to the compact fine, hard, blue-grey ware of the third and fourth centuries.

Cooking-pots (5). Nos. 38–41. All of the usual nature.

Miscellaneous. Large one-handled jug-neck of whitish clay with grey surface. The rim is unfortunately missing. A rim

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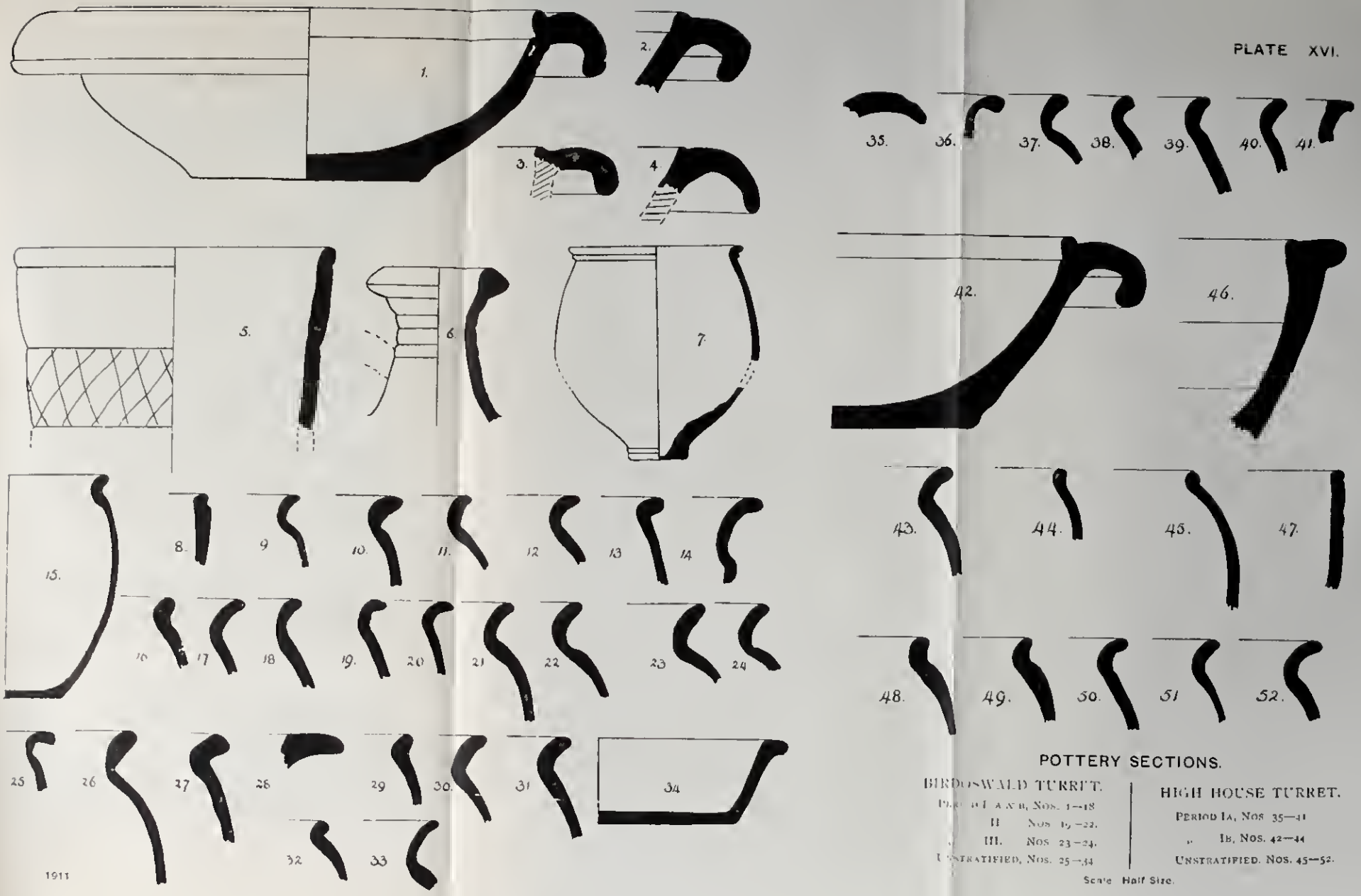
* Sometimes known by the unsatisfactory name "Vesicular Ware." For a description of its composition and character see *Poltross Burn*, p. 453, and *Saltburn*, *Journal of Roman Studies*, vol. ii., part 2.

† With the single exception of a minute fragment at Peel Crag turret which must have been accidentally introduced considerably later than the demolition of that building.



POTTERY SECTIONS.

BIRDOSWALD TURRET.

Period I A & B, Nos. 1—18
" II Nos. 19—22.
" III. Nos. 23—24.
Unstratified, Nos. 25—34

HIGH HOUSE TURRET.

Period Ia, Nos 35—41
" Ib, Nos. 42—44
Unstratified. Nos. 45—52.

Scale Half Size.

1911

P.N

flange of some mortar-like vessel of coarse grey ware resembling stone. Two fragments of the side of a bowl, pink inside and grey black outside, in material and colour are exactly like many of the flat-rimmed bowls.

PERIOD I B.

Mortarium (1). No. 42, a large part of a *mortarium* in red clay covered with a cream wash; in contour much like No. 1.

Jug-neck (1). Almost identical with No. 6, but broken off at the third moulding.

Cooking-pots (5). Nos. 43–45.

UNSTRATIFIED (from outside the walls).

Samian. Three fragments of rim, Dr. 37, of indeterminate date, though one would seem to belong to Antonine times.

Other Wares. The following are the most noticeable pieces:—A *mortarium* rim, in contour almost identical with No. 42, but thinner; it is of white clay and has a fragmentary stamp in two lines, and looks like an imported vessel. No. 46 (d. 10″) is an unusually thick bowl of uncommon form. Made of red clay it has a few fragments of quartz grit in the interior, and may have been used as a *mortarium.* No. 47, of sandy clay with a smooth grey-black surface, is also an uncommon type. It is quite different in character from the cylindrical bowls (see above, No. 5). There are also some fragments of a very small vase of fine, thin, steel-blue ware which I have not met elsewhere.

APPLETREE TURRET.

Three of the usual four floors were found in this turret, but the fourth (*i.e.*, Period III.) was removed when the modern road was made, and consequently is represented only by one or two fragments of pottery from the unstratified deposit outside the walls of the building.

PERIOD I A.

Samian. Definitely belonging to the lowest level, three pieces were found: (*i.*) a fragment of the rim of Dr. 37 shewing no part of the ovolo or decoration; (ii.) a small piece of Dr. 27; (iii.) about one-third of a flattish base of Dr. 31 with a stamp which is unfortunately illegible. Owing to slight disturbance of the stratification it was not clear whether the following two pieces of Dr. 37 came from level I A or I B, but from the nature of the ornament and other details I should attribute the first

to level I A and the second to level I B. (*i.*) Pl. xix., No. 6, is a thin piece of ware, excellently moulded. The plain rim is narrow and the decoration is divided into compartments by fine beaded lines ending in small rosettes. One of these divisions contains a tripod which is not given by Déchelette, but is after the style of Déchelette, 1070 and 1071. The next compartment has two figures facing one another. That to the left is almost identical with Déchelette, 330; the other is not in Déchelette, but the same type is represented in a sitting position in Déchelette, 534 and 534a. This piece is a good example of the early second century Lezoux ware in the style which succeeded the transitional decoration of Flavian and early Trajanic times. The thinness of the fragment, the narrow depth of the unornamented rim, the crisp detail of the relief, and the general character of the decoration together suggest an early Hadrianic date. A piece of the same date and characteristics occurred in the Period I. level at Poltross Burn milecastle (cf. *Poltross Burn*, pl. vi., No. 1, and Professor Bosanquet's remarks, *Ibid.*, p. 456 and 458), and some of the pieces from Gellygaer are of the same type. (*ii.*) Pl. xix., No. 7. The rim of this fragment has a rivet-hole; the ovolo is large. The band of ornament is divided into panels by coarse beaded lines ending in large rosettes. Some of these panels are sub-divided by horizontal lines and on the broken left-hand edge of the fragment are indications of a demi-medallion. One of the remaining compartments encloses a piece of upright foliage ornament topped by a mask. Neither of these is given by Déchelette, but the mask is somewhat like Déchelette, 698 and 701. The next panel to the left contains a figure of Apollo with a laurel branch (Déchelette, 56), which is found in bowls signed by Albucius and Servus. This piece of Lezoux ware would seem to belong to the latter half of the second century.

Mortarium (1). A fragment of pinkish-buff clay; the outer half of the flange is broken off, but to judge from what remains of the rim, it was much like No. 1.

Jars (8). Nos. 53–57. Nos. 53 and 54 are vessels with raised "rustic" decoration on the surface; both have a groove on the shoulder and the rims shew the usual contours of this type of ware which is common in Flavian and Trajanic deposits in the North of Britain, but does not occur in Antonine times, and probably fell out of use early in the reign of Hadrian (see Curle, *Newstead*, p. 247). It has been found in the lower Period I. deposits in several other structures on the Wall. No. 53 (d. 5½″) is of dirty white, sandy clay with dark-grey surface; No.

54 (d. 6″) is pinkish grey in paste and surface. No. 55 (d. 4″) is of the same material and probably the same vessel as No. 80, and must have worked down from the floor above. Nos. 56, 57 are of somewhat coarse red clay, with grey and brown exterior surface respectively. There are also fragments of a jar of coarse, dirty-white paste with grey surface and moulded base, a fabric characteristic of the earlier part of Period I. in all the excavated milecastles and turrets. This level also produced the greater part of a red vase with "rough-cast" surface, identical with No. 7 except that it has only a single moulding on the rim and base.

Cooking-pots (5). Nos. 58–62. Although composed of the usual fabric, most of the fragments are remarkable for their dense black surface, both interior and exterior. No. 58 (d. 5½″) is an unusual form and has an undulating line lightly impressed on the shoulder. Nos. 59, 61, 62 have a similar line of ornament in the concave part of the neck (cf. remarks above on Nos. 17, 18).

Miscellaneous. A fragment of hard red ware, becoming very thin towards the base, seems to belong to one of the red ware cylindrical bowls which appear to be peculiar to the lowest *stratum* along the Wall (see above on No. 5). A piece of pinkish-buff ware with dirty yellow polished surface would seem, from the angle it displays to belong to the lower part of a flat-rimmed bowl.

PERIOD I B.

Samian. Only a single small fragment of Dr. 31 with good bright glaze was found on this floor, though a piece of Dr. 37 (pl. xix., No. 7), described above, may belong to it.

Bowls (5). Nos. 63–67. No. 63 is an unusual form; the clay is grey, moderately fine and well baked. The vessel presents a smooth and well-finished surface. No. 64 (d. 5¼″) is a still more uncommon form and of unusual fabric. The clay is fine and close, orange in colour and laminated. The exterior surface is polished and the interior apparently covered with a cream wash. No part of the base was found. The vessel in form and fabric is not unlike two figured by Behn, *Römische Keramik*, figs. 243, 246. The one, described as "*Ton rötlichgelb mit Spuren brauner Ueberfärbung*," he derives from a La Tène form and ascribes to the first century; the other, "*Ton gelbrot, oberfläche geglattet*," he attributes to Constantinian times (Behn, *op. cit.*, pp. 116, 123). No. 65 (d. 7½″) is a well-finished hard vessel of somewhat coarse red clay. With the shape cf. *Poltross Burn*, pl. iii., Nos.

4, 5, and *Gellygaer*, pl. x., No. 4. As in these examples, there is an absence of the grooves on the rim and at the angle of the side which usually mark this type of bowl. One would have expected this piece to belong to level I A, but the grooveless variety of the flat-rimmed bowl, with the angle in the side softening into a curve, may be a slightly later development of the type and have lingered on till the middle of the second century. No. 66 (d. 7¼″) is entirely different in composition, being made of the ordinary cooking-pot fabric with lattice-work ornamentation. For the rim cf. *Poltross Burn*, pl. iii., No. 33 which is likewise a Period I. fragment. No. 67 (d. 9½″) is a dish of sandy clay with a plain smooth grey surface.

Jars (16). Nos. 68–82. No. 68 (d. 6″, height 6½″) is a vessel of very unusual character, to which I know of no parallel. The paste is soft and yellow, though burnt blue in the centre, and contains a large quantity of minute fragments of some white flaky substance which looks much like pounded oyster shell. The surface shews the natural colour of the clay, speckled with white, but the exterior is darkened by smoking and roughened by a number of very lightly impressed grooves. The base is remarkably thin. In contour and proportions the vessel is not unlike one figured in the *Corbridge Report*, 1911, fig. 5, No. 3, which belongs to the late first or early second century. Nos. 69, 70 (d. 5½″) both have lattice-work lines on the sides, polished rim and shoulder, and brown exterior. The clay of No. 69 is bright red, of No. 70 buff. Both are hard and well made. No. 71 (d. 5″) is very similar and red-brown. No. 72 (d. 6½″) has a polished brown surface, a wavy line in the hollow of the neck and lattice ornament on the belly. The clay is burnt to a light blue-grey colour. No. 73 (d. 4¾″) is grey, baked very hard, and has a smooth, vitreous surface. Nos. 74–76 (average d. 5″) are of rough grey ware, and No. 77 buff. Nos. 78 and 79 (d. 5½″, 5″) are very similar in shape and material to the vessels with "rustic" decoration, with which they also have the common feature of grooves on the shoulder. The clay is somewhat sandy, grey in No. 78, dirty buff in No. 79. No. 80 (d. 4″) is a hard grey-brown ware with neat lattice ornament. No. 81 (d. 5″), of coarsish clay, with hard, smooth, grey surface, has a somewhat unusual shape. No. 82 (d. 5″) is a neat and delicately made rim of light grey, hard, close-grained fabric. There are also several fragments of a very unusual type of vessel (No. 82a, pl. xxvi.), which has occurred once or twice at Corbridge. The side has a sharp angle midway, the upper part being slightly

concave and the lower convex. It is apparently very like Koenen, *Gefässkunde*, Taf. ix., 10, 12, native German vessels of the early Empire, derived from a La Tène form (cf. Koenen, Taf. vii., 1, 9, 11b).

Cooking-pots (7). Nos. 83–89 (d. 6″, 5″, 5″, 4½″, 5½″, 5″, 3½″). All of these are of the usual fabric. No. 85 alone has the wavy line in the hollow of the neck, which seems generally to be peculiar to the early part of Period I. Nos. 88, 89 have a rough grey surface.

PERIOD II.

The pottery from this floor is very small in quantity. No. 90 is an almost complete jar of coarsish grey ware with lattice-work ornament. Nos. 91, 92 are rims of similar grey jars. The latter example is noticeable for the extent to which the rim is turned outwards and resembles rims found in the earthwork fort on Walwick Fell in Northumberland.* There is also the base (d. 5″) of one of the common grey-black dishes and a fragment of a pinkish-buff indented vase.

PERIOD III.

The pottery from this level was removed with the floor itself when the modern road was made.

UNSTRATIFIED (from outside the walls).

Of the fragments found outside the turret a few pieces only call for notice.

Samian. Single fragments of two small Dr. 27 cups were found low down in the deposit.

Bowls. No. 93 of buff-red, sandy clay, and No. 94 (d. 8″) of cooking-pot ware with three grooves on the top of the rim, undoubtedly belong to Period I A.

Jugs. No. 95, of red clay with a white surface wash, has a single handle springing from the lower part of the neck. It has a stepped or screw neck which joined the body at a fairly sharp angle. For very similar jug-necks attributed to Hadrianic date cf. Curle, *Newstead*, fig. 33, No. 8; ORL. 8 (*Zugmantel*), Taf. xvii., 27; ORL. 35 (*Heldenbergen*), Taf. iii., 19, and Behn, *Römische Keramik*, p. 98. Another jug-neck is of coarse grey clay, thick and large. The mouth is pressed in at the centre from both sides to form a spout. A single handle divided by one furrow springs from just below the rim. The angle of junction between the neck and the body is very sharp. It is

* See report in *Archæologia Aeliana*, 3rd ser., vol. ix.

almost certainly of Hadrianic date, and would then belong to Period I A; cf. Curle, *Newstead*, fig. 33, No. 9, which is very similar, and *Poltross Burn*, p. 448. Mr. Curle quotes (p. 261) instances favouring a late first or early second century date for this type, while Behn (*Römische Keramik*) gives several examples belonging to the first century. For other examples, cf. ORL. 8 (*Zugmantel*), Taf. xvii., 38, 40, and references, *Ibid.*, p. 168, where the type is attributed to Hadrianic times.

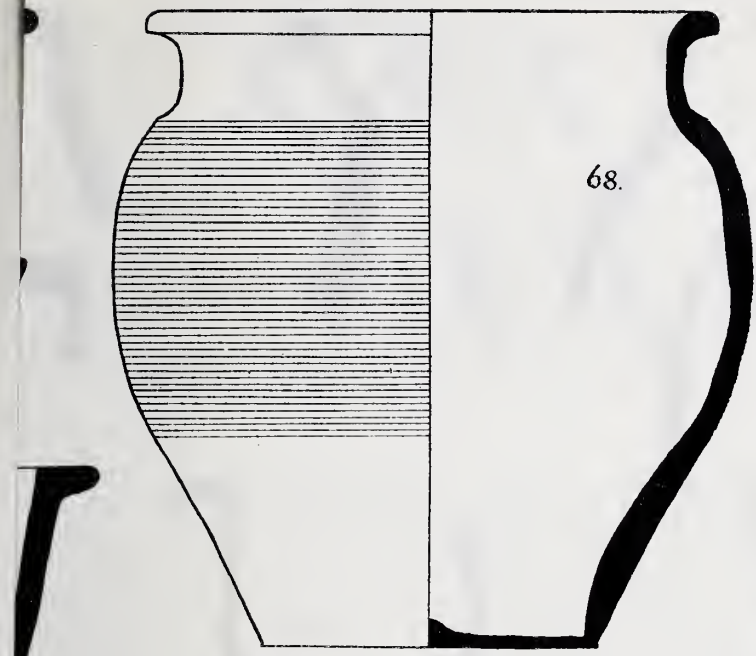
Miscellaneous. There is a single fragment of Castor ware of the usual pure-white clay; the interior is dark blue, the outside brown-black with "rough-cast" surface. This would belong to the end of Period II., or to Period III., as the white-clay Castor ware does not appear commonly in the North of England, as far as I have observed, until the third century. The last period is represented by a single piece of the common fourth-century cooking-pot ware with white grit embedded in the clay.

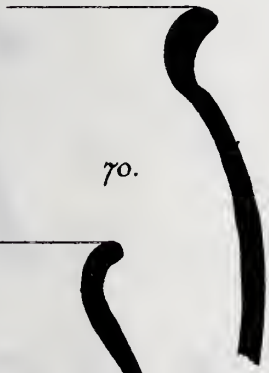
HIGH HOUSE MILECASTLE.

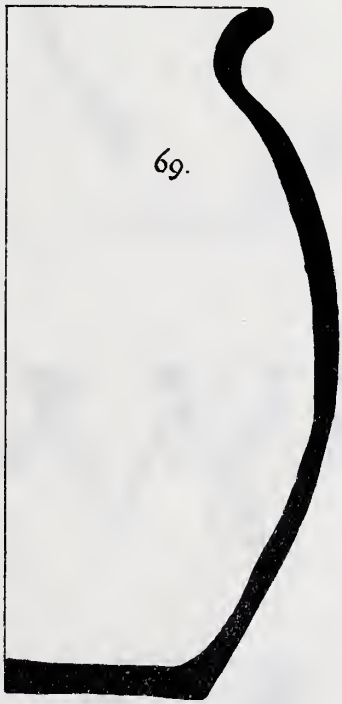
The interior of High House milecastle has been considerably robbed and disturbed since Roman times; consequently, although a large quantity of pottery was found, stratified deposits were rare. All the more important pieces and particularly any that seem to date to the first half of the second century are described below.

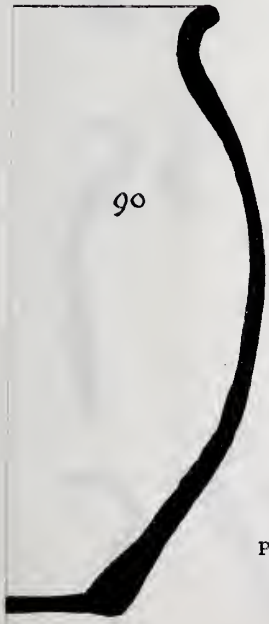
Samian. Twelve fragments of decorated bowls, Dr. 37, were found. All belonged to coarse thick vessels; five shewed only the plain broad band of the rim and the rest were too small or worn for the moulded figures to be identified, with the exception of two pieces which belonged to one vessel, on which two representations of Venus, Déchelette, 179a and 173 (?), may be recognised (see pl. xix., No. 8), and a third on which is preserved a portion of a leaf (not in Déchelette) (pl. xix., No. 9) of late second century appearance. Over twenty very broken fragments seem to be pieces of Dr. 31; of these, two bear stamps. The first, found in the foundations of the east wall of the east internal building, reads ·ALBI—. Two names suggest themselves, Albinus and Albillus. There were at least two potters of the name Albinus, one working at La Graufesenque in the first century and the other probably at Rheinzabern about the middle of the second century.* Albillus was a second-century potter working appar-

* Stamps of this potter have been found in the forts of the outer German Limes and on the Antonine Wall in Scotland; but Barthel concludes that he was already working before 150 A.D. ORL. 8 (*Zugmantel*), p. 131.









APPLETREE TURRET.

Period IA., Nos. 53—62. Period II., Nos. 90—92.
,, IB., Nos. 63—89. Unstratified, Nos. 93—95.

P.N.

ently in East Gaul, Heiligenberg and Rheinzabern. The second stamp, MACERATI, was on a base with a high kick in the centre. The lettering is poor, and the first part of the name has been stamped twice. The same stamp has occurred once at Corbridge on a Dr. 33, and is not common. Here it seems to belong to Period II. The only other pieces of Samian were a small portion of the base of a Dr. 38 and a fragment of a globular vase with fluted exterior, which was found at the north gate below the second period road. It must date from the end of the second century.

Mortaria. No. 96 (internal d. 8″), of pinkish-yellow clay with a cream surface wash, and No. 101 of gritty grey clay, from their shape must belong to the earlier part of Period I.; cf. No. 4 and *Poltross Burn*, pl. iv., No. 2. Nos. 97 and 99 are both of hard red ware with a darker red polished rim. From their position and shape they probably belong to Period I., as also would No. 100 (internal d. 9″), which is red and has large white quartz pebbles embedded in it. No. 98 (internal d. 7½″) is of soft white clay and was found under the second floor, but not at the bottom; (?) Period I B. No. 113 (internal d. 8½″), a red vessel, lay above the second floor. Nos. 114, 115 (internal d. 8½″, 9½″) must also belong to Period II. or possibly Period III. Both are made of the hard, smooth, pure white clay, of which "hammer-head" *mortaria* are usually composed; the shape of No. 114 is not uncommon in this material. Three fragments (of one vessel) also seem from their white clay and black grit to be part of a "hammer-head" mortar.

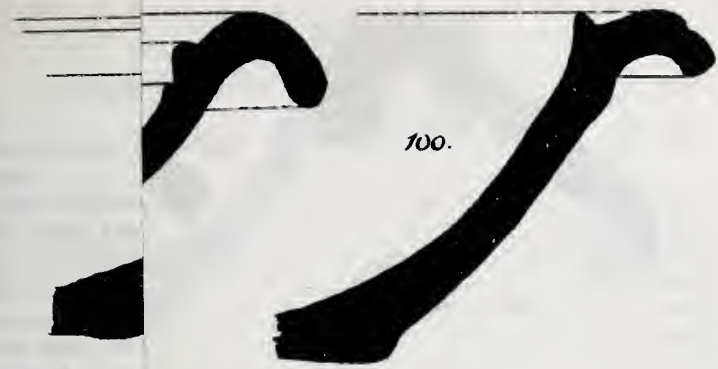
Bowls and Dishes. No. 102 of soft, fine, pink clay with a cream wash came from the foundation level, and therefore dates from Period I A. No. 103 (internal d. 5″) is of the same character. Three similar vessels were found at Haltwhistle Burn Fort (*Archæologia Aeliana*, 3rd ser., vol. v., pl. v., No. 3) and one at Poltross Burn (pl. iv., No. 4), which is also of Period I A. No. 106, of coarse yellow clay, came from a low level, but is not definitely of Period I. No. 104 (d. 6″), a sandy, grey vessel, is not unlike the flat-rimmed bowls in outline; Period I A, from the foundation level. No. 105 (d. 8″) is of white, hard, stone-like ware, and although it was found at the level of the foundations in the east internal building, similar fragments came from definitely Period II. levels. No. 123 (d. 8½″), of hard, buff clay with grooves on the flange, closely resembles a type of dish common in the fourth century. It was found in loose soil by the north gate. Of two fragments of the cylindrical red bowls, hitherto

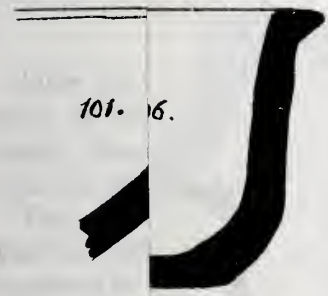
found only in Period I. deposits (see remarks on No. 5), one came from the level of the foundations of the east building, the other from the side of the lower road-surface. Two pieces of a red vessel with angular side seem to belong to a flat-rimmed bowl; Period I., below east building. Of the common black and grey ware dishes, a complete example of a type like *Corbridge Report*, 1911, fig. 6, No. 82 (flat rim), lay at the lower road level near the north gate; twelve other pieces were of the same type, three were like, *Ibid.*, No. 71 (flanged rim), three like No. 81 (rolled rim), ten like No. 83 (grooved rim). Wherever levels could be noted all these types occurred in both Periods I. and II., a few pieces possibly in Period III.

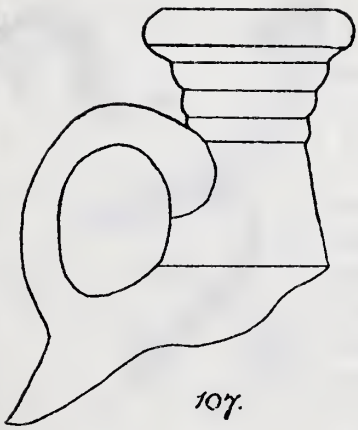
Jugs. No. 107, of reddish-buff clay, has a well-moulded screw neck and a single furrowed handle. This is clearly an early type (see remarks on Nos. 6 and 95), and was found under floor 2 near the flue. No. 108 also belongs to Period I., as it lay at the foundation level. It is of pink clay with corrugated surface covered with a cream wash. No. 121, of red clay, came from the south-west area of the milecastle, and is a later type. It will date from Period II., or III.

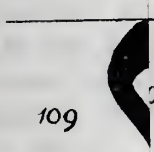
Jars. Nos. 110, 111 (d. 5″, 4½″) are squat, angular rims of gritty grey ware; their character and finds in other sites along the Wall point to their belonging to Period I A. The same remark applies to No. 112, which is grey-black in colour and probably the rim of a jar with "rustic" decoration. It was found below the floor of the east building. Nos. 116, 117 (d. 7″, 6″), of coarse grey, and No. 118 (d. 7½″), of buff clay, were all probably intended to receive lids. No. 116 was definitely allotted to Period II. by its position, and the others are also somewhat late types. Nos. 119, 120 shew a type of hard grey jar with rather tall and straight neck, which was represented by a number of pieces, all of which appeared from their position to lie in Period II. levels. Of "rustic" ware there are fragments of two vessels; of Castor, two pieces with barbotine ornament, one with a running dog, the other with a design of dots. One piece of moulded rim of thin red ware with black surface belonged to a "rough-cast" vase like No. 7.

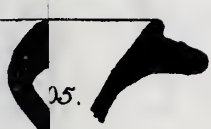
Cooking-pots. No. 109 is a type represented by several examples, all apparently of Period I. Five fragments of rim of the ordinary form had an undulating line in the hollow of the neck; four of these came from below the floor of the east building, and the other was found close to the jug-neck, No. 107. All, then, date from Period I. Of the fourth century cooking-pot

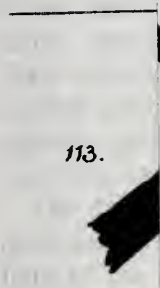


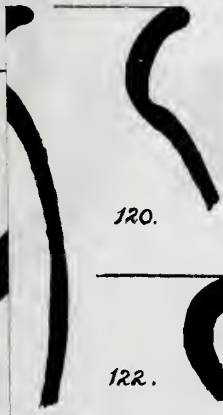


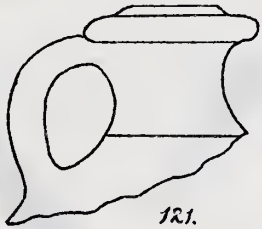












1911.

Scale:
Half Size.

P.N.

ware, eleven fragments were found; No. 122 shews a rim of this ware.

Miscellaneous. An open lamp, of exactly the same nature as that from Birdoswald turret, Period II., was found close to No. 107. From the same place came fragments of an unusual vessel (No. 123a, pl. xxvi.), bowl-shaped, with sides bending outwards towards the top. Half-way from base to rim it is divided by a clay floor perforated with a number of holes, much after the style of a modern soap-dish, except that the strainer was not removable.

The Turf Wall.

After the discovery of Appletree turret, search was made on the line of the Turf Wall for a building at a similar distance from Wall Bowers milecastle, but no remains, débris, or pottery were found.

The absence of a road between the Turf Wall and the Vallum, corresponding with the Military Way, hitherto appeared to be the strongest argument against the theory that this was the frontier line for nearly 90 years. In the first trench, carried across both works in 1895, some stones were found on the north berm, the date and purpose of which were not clear (*Transactions*, o.s., xiv., p. 189, ii.). In view of this feature, and of the discovery of the Military Way on the north berm at Gilsland (pl. xxxi.) and elsewhere, the north berm was again examined in the field (231, 25 inch scale O.S.) north of High House farm, where the best preserved remains of the Turf Wall and the Vallum are to be found, the trenches being carried northwards across the space between them. The yellow clayey subsoil was undisturbed throughout and no traces of a road were found.

The date and purpose of the Turf Wall and Ditch are questions which naturally call for consideration in the light of the discoveries on the line of the Wall of Stone. Maclauchlan, speaking of the ditch, says, "We think it possible that it was made originally for the ditch to the Wall" (*Memoir*, p. 57). Much evidence from the remains

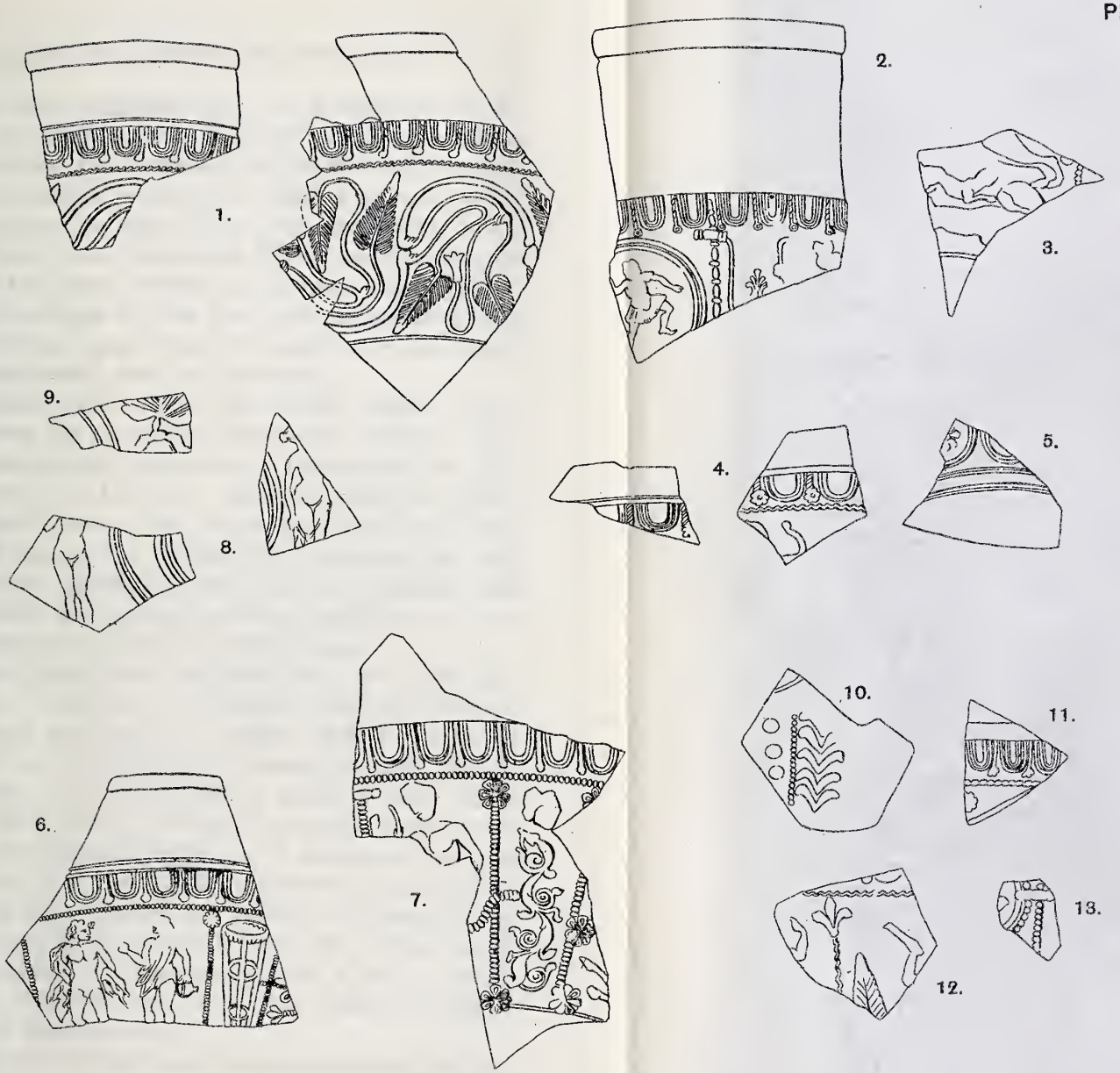
supports this explanation of the whole work, that it represents the originally projected line for the Wall.

In size and shape the two ditches are very much alike, as well as in the disposition of the upcast on the north side (*Transactions*, O.S., xiv., pl. ii.). It is reasonable to suppose that the ditch would be made first, to provide a defence during the longer period of building the masonry wall.

Even if the whole Wall was completed within two or three years, the ditch would have been dug, but probably not even the foundations of the Wall laid in many places, when the first or second winter approached, during which the work would be interrupted for a considerable time.

To construct a rampart of turf, not only without a stone foundation, but apparently on the old surface without preparation or levelling, would be the work of a few weeks only, and an effective temporary defence be thus secured. If, however, as suggested by Mr. R. H. Forster, F.S.A., the completion of the Wall west of Birdoswald was delayed for some time, owing to the scarcity of building stone, compared with the rich supplies available almost on the spot elsewhere, the need for such a temporary defence becomes still more apparent.

The temporary character of the rampart is indicated by the absence of a stone foundation, nor can the argument of its earlier date, when compared with the Wall of Antoninus, be fairly advanced, while the small fort at Throp (pl. xxv.), the permanence of which must have been of far less importance than that of a Frontier Wall, has a carefully laid foundation of stone below its turf ramparts. The absence of a road is a still stronger argument in favour of the unfinished state of the works along the line of the Turf Wall, for the Military Way has clearly been constructed after the milecastles, which from time to time it avoids by turning to the south, and in so doing is forced on to the north berm of the Vallum at Poltross Burn, and probably elsewhere.



1911. DECORATED SAMIAN. Scale: Half Size.

It has been suggested that the destruction of the Vallum by landslips, near the west rampart of AMBOGLANNA, caused the builders of the Wall of stone to take a new line further north. The digging of a wide and deep ditch near the edge of the steep and broken banks of the Irthing, now Blackbank Wood, and the heaping up of half the upcast on the exposed south side, probably caused the collapse of that side at an early period, but another reason, apart from the question of an earlier fort at Birdoswald, may be advanced.

Throughout this section the average width of the Vallum, from the centre line of the north mound to that of the south mound, is 100 feet. The mounds are fully 25 feet wide at the base. Opposite Appletree turret the distance between the centre-line of the Turf Wall ditch and that of the Vallum ditch is about 180 feet. It is, however, gradually reduced to the eastward, and measures only 120 feet opposite Birdoswald turret, from which point the two ditches diverge again.

Opposite High House milecastle they are nearly 150 feet apart. From this measurement must be deducted 63 feet from the south (c-l. Vallum ditch to c-l. north mound, 50 feet; half width of mound, 13 feet), and 49 feet from the north (half width of ditch, 16 feet; berm, 25 feet; Wall, 8 feet), leaving a space less than 38 feet wide for the accommodation of a milecastle and the Military Way, which as finally constructed further north occupy 106 feet. Though the Military Way might have been diverted along the north berm, the shortest milecastle yet examined (Cawfields, 57 feet N. to S., outside the walls) could not have been built unless the Vallum mound had been removed.

Opposite Birdoswald turret the space between Wall and Vallum would have been reduced to only 8 feet, requiring further removal of the north mound to accommodate even a turret, with the Military Way still on the north berm.

At several points along the line, generally for a very short distance only, the space between the Wall and the Vallum is less than 40 feet wide. Except at Harrow's Scar (*Transactions*, O.S., XV., p. 351), however, there is no instance of the removal of the mound to provide space for a milecastle. The available space near the edge of the Scar appears to have been so small that the wide berm north of the Wall was also dispensed with. The course of the road at that point has not yet been traced.

There is nothing in the natural formation which explains why the Turf Wall ditch was not carried 30 or 40 feet further north for at least three-quarters of a mile west of Birdoswald.

The area of the Fort of AMBOGLANNA, including the stone ramparts, is 5½ acres. The portion south of the ditch which crossed the fort in line with the north towers of the later main east and west gate (*Transactions*, O.S., XV., p. 180) contains about 3 acres 2 roods 12 perches. At the south-west angle the fort ditch interferes with the Vallum ditch (*Transactions*, O.S., XIV., p. 416).

If AMBOGLANNA was originally laid out as an ordinary cohort fort of about 3 acres the Vallum ditch would have cleared its south-west angle, while the ditch in line with that of the Turf Wall to the east and west would represent its north ditch. A change of plan, by which the garrison was increased to a milliary cohort, would explain the consequent enlargement of the fort.

For this large body of troops, not more than 3 acres of open ground would be available for drilling or any other purposes. When the Wall of stone was built, obviously after the stone fort, the way of escape from these cramped conditions near the fort, as well as between the Vallum and the Wall, would be found by laying out the new line from the north-west angle to Wall Bowers and from the north-east angle to Harrow's Scar.

The Fort on the Stanegate at Throp.

General Description of the Site.

Before the survey of the Wall by Maclauchlan in the years 1852-1854, the sites of only two, Black Dikes and Chapel Rigg, of the five camps lying south of the Vallum between the Tipalt and the Irthing, had been recorded. The camps at Crooks, Throp and Willowford were pointed out to him at that time, and the following description of the position and state of the site at Throp is given in the *Memoir*, p. 52 ; it

> is on the Cumberland side of the Poltross Burn, on a farm called Thorpe or Thrup, on a considerable declivity towards the east ; its form is rectangular, and nearly square, and though very much worn down by the plough, appears to have been very strong, though without any signs of masonry. Its west front occupies the top of the hill, which is about 170 yards south of the railway, and 600 yards south-west of the station-house at Rosehill (*now Gilsland*). It is about 3 furlongs north-west of the camp last described (*Crooks*), and though the outline is still distinct, all traces of its gateways are gone. The side of the square may have been about 90 yards, and the area enclosed about 1¼ acre.

Maclauchlan's measurements evidently included the ditch.

Until about twenty years ago, the site was ploughed regularly, and although no " finds " have been recorded, the writer was told that the plough frequently struck stones which were removed year by year.

The surface indications are in striking contrast with those of the camps to the east and west. At Crooks, the ramparts may have been purposely removed, but the ditch, which is well preserved, was about 8 feet wide originally, while the remains at Willowford are clearly those of a " marching " camp, with a ditch little more than 4 feet wide. At Throp, however, the low flat mound and shallow depression representing the rampart and ditch are together fully 50 feet wide.

The natural surface of the site is very irregular. In addition to the general slope of about one foot in ten towards the north-east, the ground falls away rapidly to the north-west beyond the ditch on that side, and less abruptly to the south-west. At the north, west and south angles there are rounded hillocks, with a fourth within the rampart, the highest point on the site (540 feet), marked by a cross on pl. xxxi.

The formation is clearly illustrated by the extent of the removal of the stone foundation by the plough, wherever the rampart has been carried over a naturally high point (pl. xxv.). The south-east gate and east angle, which are at the lowest part of the site, are consequently the best preserved. The hollow between the west and south angles, and the necessity for the drain at that side, are apparent from fig. 26. A low ridge crosses the interior from the highest point to the south-east side of the north-east gate, where the foundation is again removed, the area on one side being drained through the north-east rampart near the north angle, and the other by the drain at the east angle.

Over the greater part of the interior, and especially at the higher end, the plough has removed all traces of the internal arrangements, the present surface being probably below that of the Roman period. The material of the rampart, worn down and spread over a considerable area, fortunately preserved some slight remains of internal buildings at the north-west side.

The view from the west angle is extensive in all directions except towards the south and south-east. From that point Nether Denton Church, at the west end of the hill on which the next fort stands (pl. I.), can be seen 2 miles 3 furlongs to the south-west, lower down the Irthing valley.

The course of the Stanegate is nearly parallel to the south-east rampart at a distance of 100 yards.

FIG. 25.—THROP FORT: OUTER FACE OF N.W. RAMPART, LOOKING S.W.

FIG. 26.—OUTER FACE OF S.W. RAMPART, LOOKING S.E.

The work was commenced in June and completed in August, 1910. The whole of the outer face and the greater part of the inner face of the rampart were exposed. Several cross sections were made, and the two gates, three drains and the oven completely uncovered. Diagonal trenches at frequent intervals were carried over the lower part of the interior, to within a few feet of section A B. The ditch was examined on three sides, also both causeways opposite the gates.

The subsoil consists of successive layers of gravel, sand, and clay: the lowest *stratum* in the pit (section A B) was glacial débris in clay.

Dimensions and Proportions.

The Fort is laid out with unusual accuracy, especially in view of the uneven surface. The opposite sides are equal and parallel, but the whole plan is slightly askew, the north to south diagonal being the longer by 6 feet, probably in order to enclose the north hillock. The north-east and south-west sides are 194 feet long, and the south-east and north-west sides 202 feet. The foundation of the east angle only is preserved. It is rounded as usual, the radius at the outer face being 31 feet. The other angles were probably rounded to the same radius. The area, including the ramparts, would then be 3 roods 20 perches, or .878 acre, and within the ramparts 2 roods 20 perches, or .627 acre.

The fort has only two gates. One is at the middle of the north-east side which represents the width of the fort. It is clearly the praetorian gate. The other is at the south-east side, the right hand side in relation to the praetorian gate, 69 feet from the outer face of the north-east rampart. Its proportionate distance from the "front" is therefore 34.1 per cent. of the length of the fort.

The Fort at Throp corresponds very closely, in area and

in the number and position of its gates, with the Fort on the Stanegate at Haltwhistle Burn (fig. 35), $5\frac{1}{4}$ miles to the eastward (*Arch. Ael.*, 3rd ser., v., p. 213). Haltwhistle Burn Fort faces east and has only two main gates (the west gate is a narrow postern giving access to the Burn). The praetorian gate is at the middle of the short (east) side. The single lateral gate is in the long (south) side, the right hand side in relation to the praetorian gate, the proportionate distance from the "front" being 36.6 per cent. The area within the ramparts is 2 roods 18 perches, or .613 acre, Throp being thus the larger by only 60 square yards.

The Defences.

The Ditch.—Except at the south and west angles, the ditch is only faintly traceable on the surface. The upcast has been spread beyond the outer edge as usual, but it has been mostly ploughed back again except at the north-west side. The trenches revealed a regular berm, and a large single ditch, parallel to the rampart throughout. The ditch and berm vary slightly in width. At the south-east side the ditch was about 16 feet 6 inches wide and nearly 6 feet deep originally, and the berm 8 feet wide. The width of the ditch was increased to over 18 feet at the north-east side, the berm being reduced to 7 feet. On the north-west, the width is 18 feet and the scarp is lengthened on account of the slope. No trenches were made at the south-west side, where the ditch appears, from the remains at the angles, to be of similar size, and is thus represented on section C D.

The ditch is V-shaped, and apparently without the narrow square channel at the bottom (cf. plates vii. and xv.), which, however, may have been soon obliterated by the weathering of the loose gravel sides. Owing to the nature of the subsoil and the consequent rapid draining of water, there was hardly any dark peaty material at

Fig. 28.—Oven and Inner Face of S.E. Rampart, looking N.E.

Fig. 27.—Drain through S.W. Rampart, looking N.E.

the bottom. The only finds in the trenches were a few fragments of the coarse ware of large storage-vesssle.

The causeways were not visible on the surface. The discovery of the south-east gate led to the finding of the causeway on that side, but the north-east causeway, indicating the position of the gate, was located by digging along the ditch. As at Haltwhistle Burn fort, the causeways are the natural subsoil left undisturbed at those points when the ditch was dug (*Arch. Ael.*, 3rd ser., v., p. 226). There are no signs of traverses opposite the gates.

The Rampart.—The first trench across the defences, at the north angle, revealed no remains of the rampart, missing the broken end of the stonework by less than a yard, but in the filling of the ditch some material of a light-grey colour, similar to the bleached portion of the sods in turf ramparts, and in sharp contrast with the red sand and gravel, was cut through in several places. The trench was carried across the interior to the south-east rampart, where an excellent section was obtained at E F, the outer end of which is shown in fig. 29.

The rampart consisted of piled sods resting partly on a foundation of stone and partly on the original surface. The width of the foundation, and the method of its construction, are uniform throughout. It is 16 feet wide, and has a regular kerbing of roughly dressed flat stones at both faces, behind which a bottoming of smaller flat stones, irregularly laid, extends inwards 4 feet from each face, leaving a space 8 feet wide between the stonework. The outer foundation seen in fig. 29 shows the general character of the bottoming, while the outer or inner kerbs are seen in all the illustrations. The stone was probably obtained from the banks of the Poltross Burn.

The foundation follows the slope of the ground. Near the south-west drain, where the inner face is over 2 feet higher than the outer face, the outer kerb is roughly walled three courses high for about 12 feet, and two

courses for a further 6 feet (figs. 26 and 27), to provide a more level platform for the rampart above.

The best preserved remains of the turf rampart are shown in the longitudinal section at the north-west side (fig. 25) ; at the cross section at E F, in which the clean-cut end of the turf overlying the outer kerb is clearly visible (fig. 29), and at the south-east gate (fig. 30), but traces of the turf were met with in all the trenches.

No remains of angle-towers were found.

The Throp rampart is the first recorded example of the use of turf in the defences of a fort in the neighbourhood of the Wall of Hadrian. At the Roman camp near Torpenhow several layers of sods, laid upon branches of trees, form the foundation of the rampart the body of which, however, is of gravelly clay (*Transactions*, N.S., iii., p. 334). Well preserved remains of turf ramparts were found at Castleshaw in Yorkshire (W.R.). The inner fort closely resembles Throp in several particulars. The rampart has similar stone kerbs, but the bottoming covers the whole space between them, the full width being about 12 feet. The dimensions of the inner fort, measured from the outer kerbs, are about 194 feet by 161 feet (Bruton, *Roman Forts at Castleshaw*, 1911, pl. 45).

Examples of the use of turf are more numerous in Scotland, and include the Wall of Antoninus and the ramparts of Roughcastle and Bar Hill Forts on that line. In these cases the stone bottoming is continuous between the outer kerbs. The foundation is fully 25 feet wide at Roughcastle (*Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, xxxix.). At the Antonine Fort at Bar Hill " It had a uniform breadth of 12 feet, and was formed of two parallel kerbs of dressed stones with a mass of rubble between " (*Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, xl., p. 422). Below the Antonine Wall its normal width is 14 feet. In one section, however, made in 1890-3 by the Glasgow Archæological Society, the unusual construction of the foundation is very similar to that of Throp.

FIG. 29.—SECTION OF S.E. RAMPART AT E F., SHOWING STONE FOUNDATION AND TURF.

FIG. 30.—S.W. SIDE OF S.E. GATE, LOOKING S.

The section, No. 12a, on Croy Hill, is thus described :—

All the kerbs laid bare are of whinstone unsquared, and the width between the faces is here 16 feet. The *bottoming* of whinstone well packed is rather unusual, in extending for about 4 feet inward from the north kerb. Along the middle of the base, there is no systematically laid stone bottoming, and the vallum rests seemingly on the natural surface of the hill. But when the south kerb is approached, the whinstone bottoming is again found (*Antonine Wall Report*, p. 81).

The longitudinal section of the north-west rampart (fig. 25) may be compared with a similar section of the west rampart at Bar Hill, illustrated in fig. 7 of that Report (p. 424).

The Gates.—In plan the two gates are very much alike and are both slightly askew (pl. xxv.) The arrangement is simple and consists of a straight passage through the rampart, which is not increased in width or elaborated in any way. At the sides the foundation is kerbed and the bottoming extends 4 feet inwards as at the faces of the rampart generally. Close to the kerb at both sides are three post-holes, irregularly spaced (figs. 30, 31 and 33). No remains of posts were found in the holes, the stone packing around which was remarkably well preserved. The rapid drying of the gravel subsoil probably accounts for the disappearance of the posts, which could not have been removed without disturbing the stone packing. Two or three of the holes were covered by fragments of stone below which the hole was empty for several inches.

The posts had evidently been roughly squared, the average size of the holes being 9 inches by 8 inches. The holes were cleared out to a depth of about 18 inches, but were much deeper. A ranging-pole placed in the hole at the south corner of the north-east gate met with no obstruction until it touched a stone 5 feet below the top of the kerb. The posts were evidently placed in

position first, for the stone packing is partly covered by the kerbing at the south-east gate.

The posts would serve the double purpose of retaining the ends of the rampart forming the sides of the passage, which no doubt were perpendicular, by means of wooden bratticing fastened to the uprights, and also of supporting a gangway carrying the rampart-walk over the passage, with possibly a gate-tower above. No pivot-stones have yet been found at gates of this type. The irregular spacing of the posts does not, however, make it probable that ordinary doors were hung upon a pair of them.

The road through the gate occupied the full width of the passage.

South-east Gate.—The average width of the passage between the kerbs is 11 feet 1 inch. The posts were 2 inches from the kerb and 8 inches thick, leaving an entrance 9 feet 5 inches wide. The kerb was intact except at the east corner (fig. 31). The only recognisable remains of a road were found in the passage and for a few feet over the berm and causeway, beyond which the probable continuation to the Stanegate, 100 yards to the south-east, is entirely destroyed. The foundation is of cobbles, with a gravel surface, but the kerbing has been removed.

North-east Gate.—The turf has been ploughed away at this gate and the foundation is close to the surface. It is complete at the north-west side (fig. 33), but the other side is much disturbed and only 6 feet of the kerb remains in position. The average distance between the kerbs is 12 feet 5 inches. The posts at the outer face were nearly 7 inches from the kerb: deducting the thickness of the posts (9 inches), the width of the entrance is 9 feet 9 inches. The road has been entirely removed at this gate. The small vessel, No. 6, pl. xxvi., was found at the west corner level with the kerb.

At Bar Hill the gates are of similar plan and construc-

FIG. 31.—SOUTH-EAST GATE, FROM N.W., SHOWING ROAD AND POST-HOLES.

FIG. 32.—EAST ANGLE AND DRAIN, LOOKING N.

tion. At the north, east and west gates three post-holes (each containing the remains of an oak post) were found at both sides of the passage, close to the kerb (*Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.*, xl., pl. ii. and fig. 8, p. 427). Two gates of the inner fort at Castleshaw appear to have two posts at both sides of the passage.

Structures connected with the Rampart.

Drains.—The three drains are of similar size and construction (figs. 27, 32 and 34). The bottom is formed of carefully-fitted flags. The side walls are dry-built of roughly broken flat stones, three and four courses high and generally overlapping the flags below. Only five covering flags were found in position. They are at the east drain, and show that the covers slightly overlap and were stepped on account of the slope.

A broken cover found in the south-west drain is seen lying at the side in fig. 27. This drain is 16 inches wide and the side walls are 16 inches high where the cover was found. The fall towards the outlet is over one foot in eight. The north-east drain is 15 inches wide. The side walls are damaged at the inner end, but stand 14 inches high at the outlet. The fall is about one in twelve. The rampart foundation projects slightly at both ends of the east drain, which is 16 feet 9 inches long and 12½ inches wide. Where the covers are in position it is 16 to 17 inches deep. The fall is again about one in twelve.

No definite gutters were traced, either leading to the drains or from them across the berm to the ditch. There are similar drains at the north-west and south-west angles at Haltwhistle Burn (*Report*, p. 243).

Oven.—The oven is built on the line of the inner face of the south-east rampart, 67 feet from the west corner of the gate (fig. 28). The whole structure except the door was probably covered by the turf of the rampart, but the kerbing is removed at both sides. Though the oven wall

is destroyed at the north-east end, the shape of the interior was clearly elliptical, measuring about 4 feet 6 inches by 3 feet. The floor is formed of three or four large, well-fitted flags, which have been cracked by the heat. The walls are built of small flat stones as usual. The entrance at the south-west end is well preserved, two upright stones, 15 inches apart and standing 10 inches above the floor, forming the sides. The floor is only slightly raised above the general level.

The oven at Haltwhistle Burn is also connected with the rampart, being built partly upon the sloping clay bank behind the outer wall, at the north-east angle (*Haltwhistle Burn Report*, p. 247, and pl. iv.)

Internal Buildings.

No traces of stone walls, and not a single post-hole were found inside the Fort. The remains of the internal buildings consist of small areas of rough flagging (F) and stone pitching (P), and several flagged hearths (H). They were mostly found near the north-west rampart. Flagging, 10 feet by 4 feet, was found 40 feet north-west of section E F, and a smaller fragment about 4 feet from the oven. The neck and handles of a large storage-vessel came from the latter. There is another isolated area, about 12 feet by 5 feet, 70 feet west of the north-east gate.

The only hearth found in the eastern area is 12 feet from the north-east rampart and 30 feet from the east drain. Near the drain, and level with the top of the kerb, the *mortaria*, Nos. 2 and 3, pl. xxvi., were found. Fragments of the "hammer-head" *mortarium*, No. 20, were also found within a few feet, but at least 12 inches above that level.

The remains at the north-west side appear to represent a long building placed against the rampart. Four hearths were found at an average distance of 9 feet from the inner

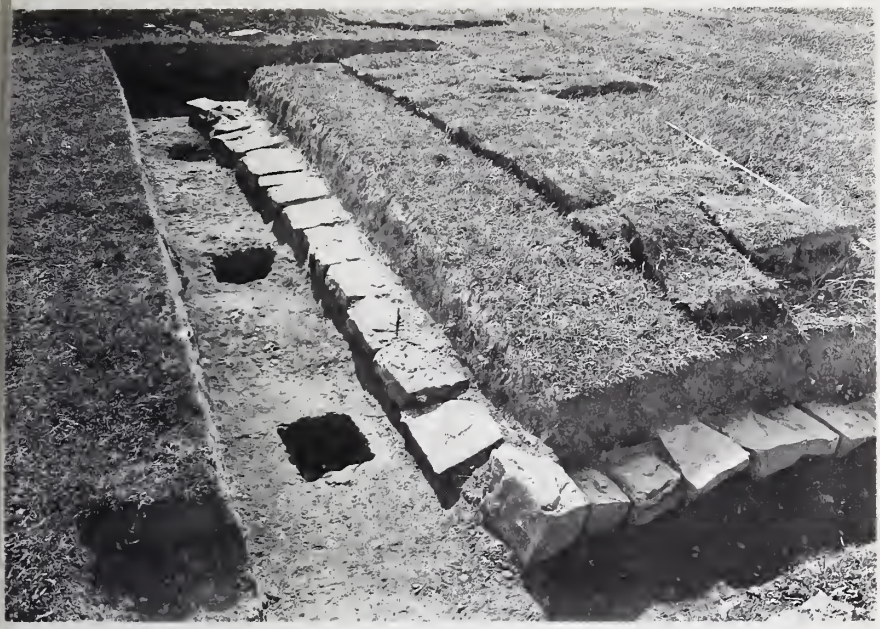


FIG. 33.—N.W. SIDE OF N.E. GATE, FROM E., SHOWING POST-HOLES.

FIG. 34.—DRAIN THROUGH N.E. RAMPART, LOOKING N.E.

kerb. The first is 18 feet from the north-east rampart, and the second 25 feet further to the south-west. The third and fourth are also 25 feet apart, the distance between the second and third being 40 feet. The greater part of the pottery was found near these hearths. Between the second and third, and 10 feet from the kerb, is an area of irregular stone pitching about 19 feet by 17 feet, with flagging about 8 feet square near the west corner.

Below the flooring between the third and fourth hearths, an interesting discovery was made. At a point 8 feet from the kerb, several flags had sunk below the general level. When they were removed, it was found that they covered a roughly circular pit about 3 feet in diameter. At first it was thought to be a refuse-pit, but the filling apparently consisted of the clean material originally dug out of the hole, replaced in part with the addition of many large flat stones similar to those used in the kerbing of the rampart. It had been carried to a depth of 9 feet, through successive layers of gravel, clay, and shaley débris, into boulder clay. The only object found was a fragment of a blue glass-paste bracelet, diameter $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches inside, decorated with yellow lines (No. 14, fig. 38), which came from the bottom of the pit. The object of the pit is doubtful. It might have been an unsuccessful sinking for a well, but its position half-way up the slope is unfavourable to that view.

No well was found in the fort.

There was no general layer of dark material over the interior, and burnt matter was met with only near the oven and hearths.

At Haltwhistle Burn the northern portion of the interior (at the left-hand, facing to the praetorian gate) is occupied by two buildings, together 130 feet in length, placed close to the foot of the sloping bank of the rampart. The north-west side at Throp, with its indications of a

long building, corresponds with the north side at Haltwhistle Burn in relation to the "front" of the fort.

Notes on the "Finds."

The meagre collection of pottery and other objects, though partly accounted for by the cultivation of the site, is very similar in character and quantity to that from Haltwhistle Burn.

No coins, or other small metal objects were found, nor were fragments of inscribed or worked stone, millstones, or roofing-tiles met with. The few iron objects were completely corroded. In addition to the glass bracelet, No. 14, fig. 38, the melon-shaped bead, No. 15, of blue glass-paste, diameter $\frac{7}{8}$ inch, was found, also two fragments of bottle glass and one of a glass bowl, diameter $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches, the rim of which was formed by turning over the side of the vessel in the form of a flattened tube. No window glass was found.

The Pottery.

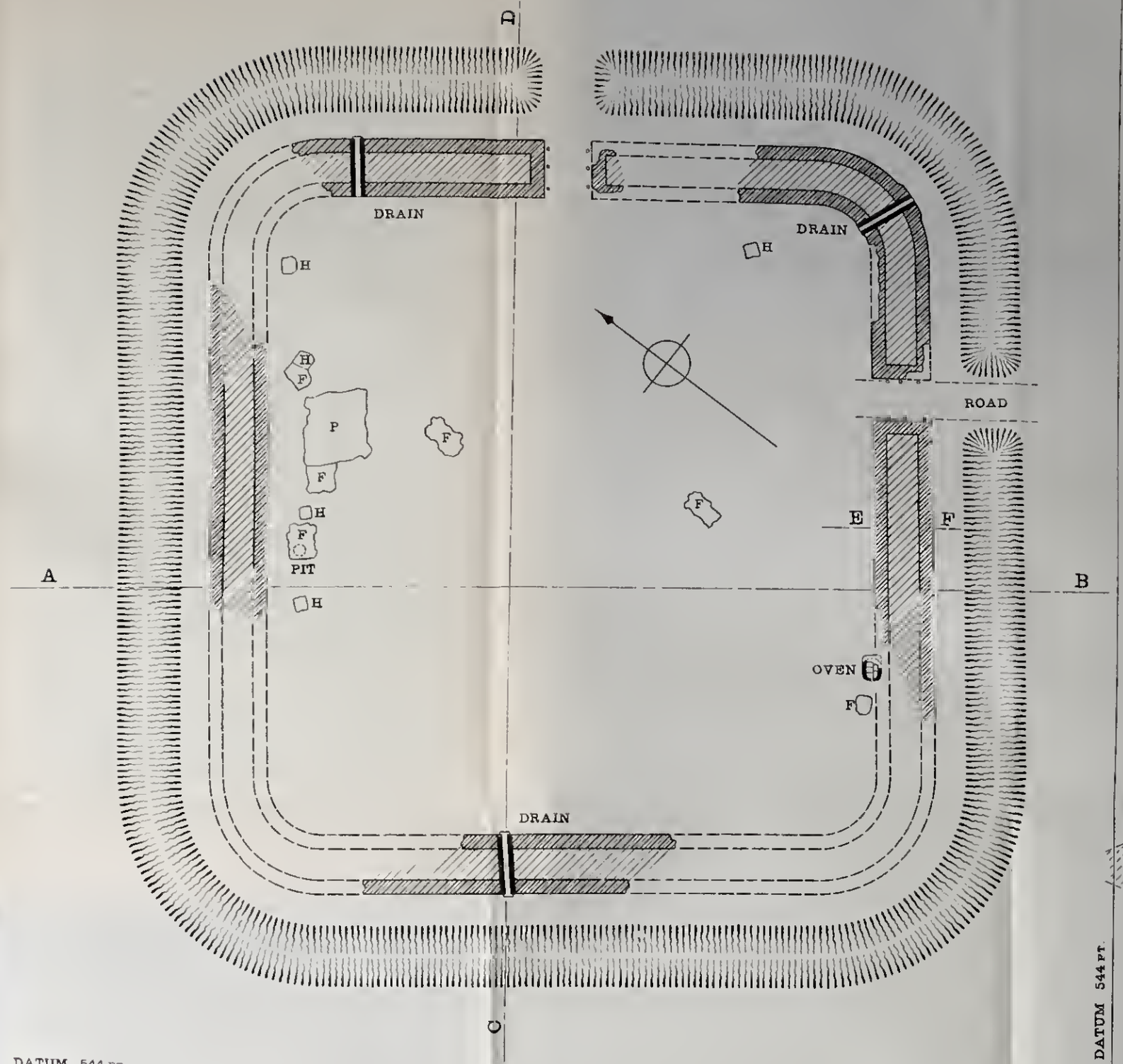
The majority of the fragments, which represent about 50 vessels, are much decayed. The number of vessels, the shape and use of which can be ascertained, of each main type is as follows:—Unglazed wares: bowls, 2; *mortaria*, 6; jars, 20; cooking-pots, 5; jug, 1; dish, 1; large storage vessels, 3 or 4. Samian ware: decorated vessels, 4; plain, 2.

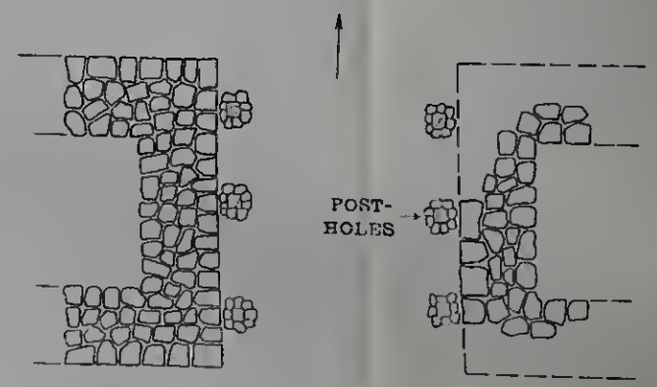
Judged by the shape and decoration, in the absence of definite floor levels, the pottery may be divided into two distinct classes, the majority probably representing the period following the building of the Fort, while five or six vessels clearly belong to a much later period.

The diameters given refer to the outside measurement of the rim in each case.

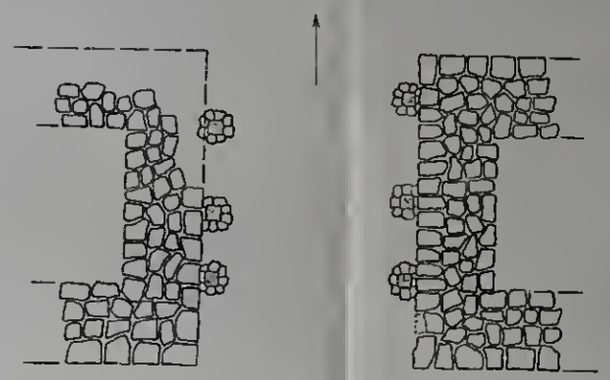
Unglazed Wares.

Bowls (2). Pl. xxvi., Nos. 4 and 5. No. 4, diameter $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches, light grey, dark surface wash; plain rim. No. 5, diameter $6\frac{1}{2}$





NORTH-EAST GATE



SOUTH-EAST GATE

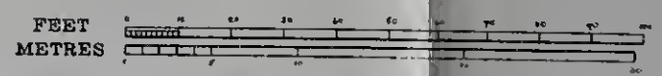
SCALE: ONE INCH = 8 FEET

STONE FOUNDATION

TURF RAMPART

SECTION AT A B

THE ROMAN FORT ON THE STANEGATE AT THROP NEAR GILSLAND



SCALE: ONE INCH = 30 FEET

1910

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inches, brown, black surface; traces of grooving on rim. Cf. Haltwhistle Burn, pl. v., No. 1; Poltross Burn, early first period, pl. iii., Nos. 1-6; Appletree turret, pl. xvii., Nos. 65, 93 and 94, and Mr. Newbold's remarks on the dating of these bowls; Curle, *Newstead Report*, p. 249.

Mortaria (6). Second century type (4), Nos. 1-3. Grit generally white (opaque) or transparent. No. 1, diameter 10 inches, light red. No. 2, diameter 12¼ inches, red, buff surface wash; illegible name-stamp on rim. No. 3, diameter 7¾ inches, light red. One base, yellow. Cf. Haltwhistle Burn, p. 266; Poltross Burn, first period, pl. iv., Nos. 1, 2 and 5. Late "hammerhead" type (2). Grit generally coloured. No. 20, diameter 10 inches, cream. One rim, diameter about 10 inches, cream; much decayed. Cf. Poltross Burn, third period, pl. v., Nos. 1-4; Walwick Fell Fort (*Arch. Ael.*, 3rd ser., ix.).

Jars (20). There are fragments of three jars with "rustic" surface decoration, one in brown clay with dark surface and another in grey with dark surface. The third is a typical "rustic" ware rim, No. 8, light grey, dark surface. Cf. Haltwhistle Burn, pl. v., No. 12; Appletree turret, pl. xvii., No. 53, and Mr. Newbold's remarks on the dating of "rustic" ware.

No. 6 represents a type of jar which is not frequently found. The clay is of a light brown colour. Similar vessels from Newstead (pl. xlvi., No. 27), and CORSTOPITUM (*Report*, 1911, *Arch. Ael.*, 3rd ser., viii., pl. xii., No. 64) have a rim above the narrow neck, nearly equal in diameter to that of the body. The present height of No. 6 is 4⅛ inches: the rim has probably been removed. Mr. Curle considers that such vessels were "Possibly . . . used to hold oil in small quantities with which to replenish a lamp" (p. 252). Mr. Bushe-Fox describes the vessels as unguent pots, "commonly found in graves" (*Report*, 1911, p. 42).

No. 7, diameter 5 inches, brown, blue-black colour coating, "rough-cast" decoration (*i.e.*, small particles of grit or clay on surface); cf. Haltwhistle Burn, pl. v., No. 7; Poltross Burn, first period, pl. iii., No. 25; Newstead, pl. xlvi., No. 31; Birdoswald turret, pl. xvi., No. 7, and Mr. Newbold's remarks on the dating of "rough-cast" ware.

Nos. 13 and 14 represent large jars, or vases. Both have a raised bead round the neck. No. 13, diameter 4⅜ inches, light red. No. 14, diameter 5 inches, grey. Cf. Poltross Burn, probably first period, pl. iv., Nos. 36-38.

The rims, Nos. 9-12, and moulded bases, Nos. 17-19, represent ordinary jars which are very similar in quality of clay, finish,

and shape of rim and base to those from the first period floors at Poltross Burn (cf. p. 449 and pl. iii., Nos. 12-21 and 26), and to most of the pottery from Haltwhistle Burn. The clay is generally light grey (Nos. 12 and 17 are light brown), with a dark (fumed) surface.

No. 23, diameter 4½ inches, of hard blue-grey clay (cf. Poltross Burn, p. 451), probably belongs to a later occupation of the fort represented by Nos. 20-22.

Cooking-pots (5). Two, Nos. 15 (diameter 5½ inches) and 16 (diameter 6 inches) are of the early type, with nearly upright neck. They are made of the usual gritty clay, black body and surface, burnished outside at the top and bottom with lattice decoration round the body. Both have the zigzag decoration on the neck below the rim generally found on the early cooking-pots. Cf. Haltwhistle Burn, pl. v., Nos. 5 and 6; Poltross Burn, p. 449, and plates iii., No. 22, and iv., No. 32. One, diameter 6 inches, with plain neck, is not drawn.

Two, Nos. 21 (diameter 6½ inches) and 22 (diameter 5½ inches) belong to a later type, probably the common shape in use in the third century, until the introduction of the cooking-pots of "vesicular" ware. There is the same roll at the rim, but the neck is longer and slopes sharply outwards. In clay, colour, and finish they are similar to the early type, but have no zigzag decoration below the rim.

The fragments of about 135 cooking-pots found on the late second century Site xxx. at CORSTOPITUM, in 1911, included a few vessels having the zigzag on the neck. They were of the type 48, pl. xii. (*Report*, 1911, p. 39), to which type Nos. 15 and 16 evidently belong. There were, however, only a few fragments of Nos. 47 and 51, pl. xii., which are clearly of the same type as Nos. 21 and 22. Also cf. Walwick Fell Fort (*Arch. Ael.*, 3rd ser., ix.).

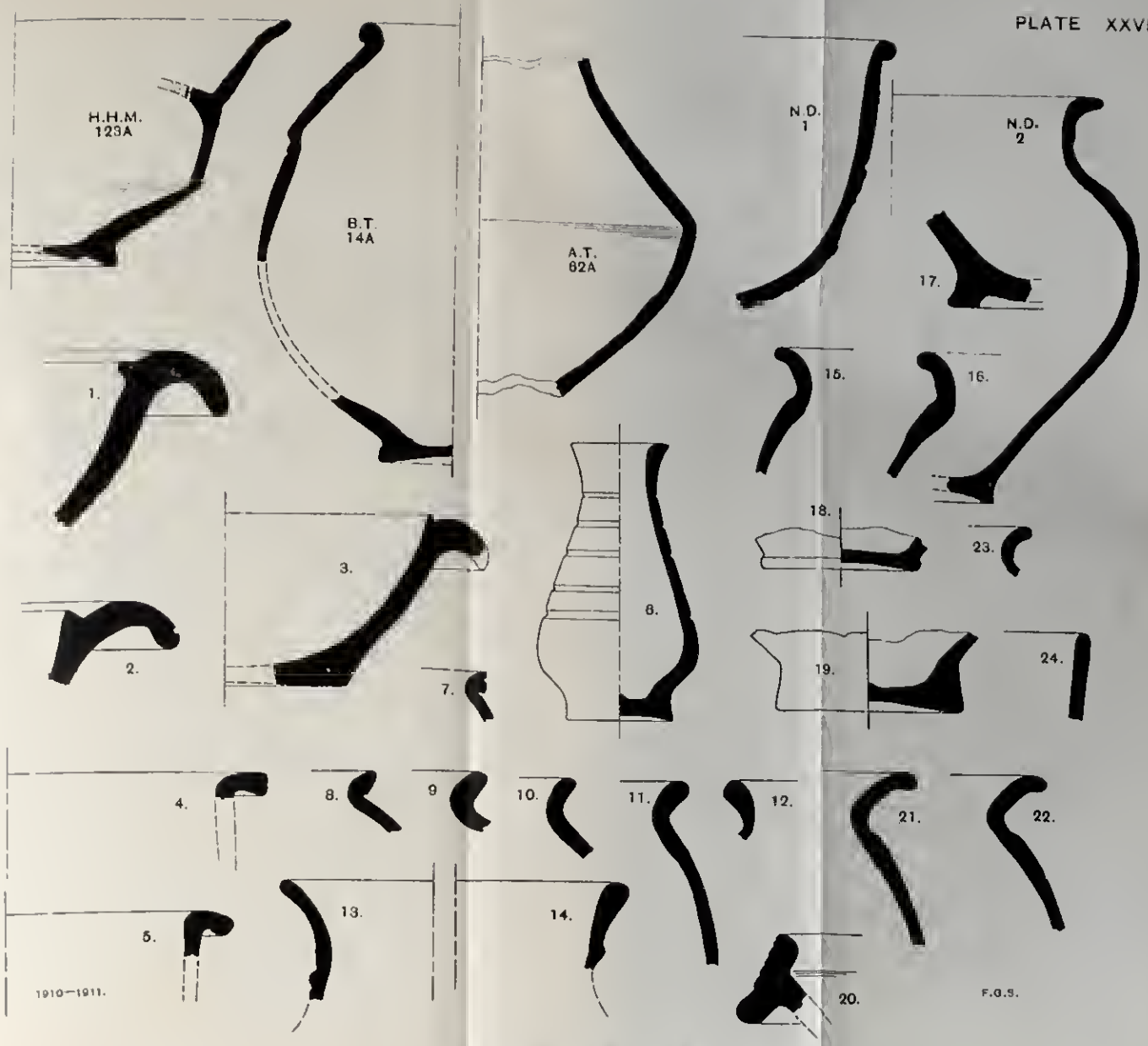
No fragments of the late "vesicular" ware were found.

Jug (1). Fragment showing sharp turn at base of neck, light red with blueish surface wash. Two or three fragments of red and white clay may represent other jugs.

Dish (1). No. 24, diameter 8¾ inches, depth doubtful, brown, dark surface; zigzag decoration on side.

SAMIAN WARE.

Single fragments of four decorated bowls of type Dr. 37 were found (pl. xix., Nos. 10-13). Mr. Newbold considers that all appear to date from the middle of the second century. The



POTTERY SECTIONS: THROP FORT, 1—24.

Scale. Half Size.

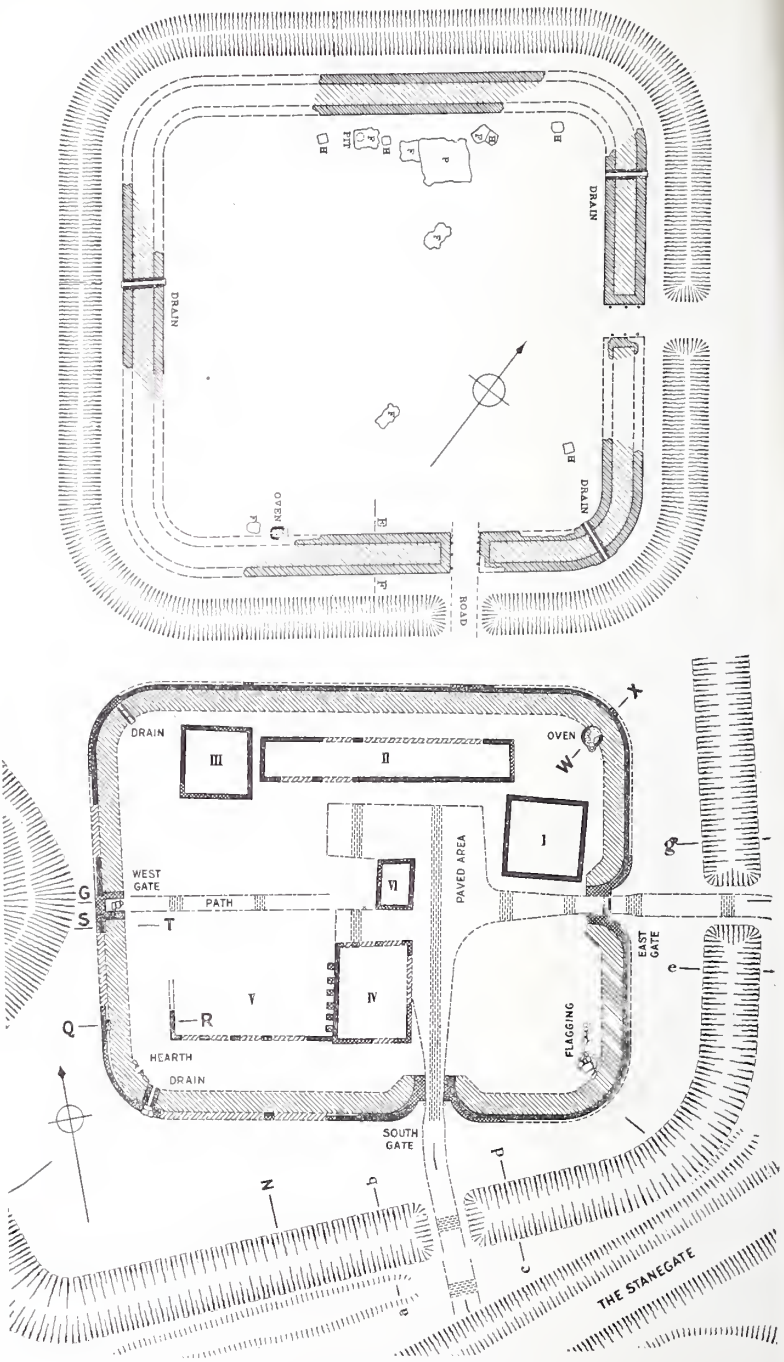


FIG. 35. THE FORTS AT THROP AND HALTWHISTLE BURN.
Scale: One inch=75 feet.

fragments of plain Samian represent two dishes of a fairly early type of Dr. 31, having the centre only slightly elevated.

The Period of the Fort.

The outstanding result of the excavation is the close resemblance which the Fort at Throp bears to the Fort at Haltwhistle Burn.

It will be well to reconsider the conclusions of 1909 regarding the date of Haltwhistle Burn (*Report*, pp. 272-284), with the aid especially of the increased knowledge of pottery, and of the discoveries on the line of the Wall since that year.

Three periods were suggested to which the Fort might be assigned :—

(1) During the reign of Hadrian but before the building of the Wall.

(2) Between the departure of Agricola (A.D. 85) and the arrival of Hadrian (A.D. 120).

(3) During the propraetorship of Agricola about the close of his second campaign (A.D. 79).

On behalf of the first suggestion, it was urged that the Fort was built by Hadrian's orders, during the survey of the district, preparatory to the building of the Wall. In that case, it would be occupied by those employed in the work and would naturally be dismantled as soon as Aesica was ready to receive a garrison.

Much of the evidence—the single period of occupation and absence of destruction, the scarcity of pottery, etc., and the intentional removal of the stone walls—apparently confirmed that view. To that evidence the pottery discovered would clearly have been added, according to our present knowledge.

At that time, however, the Turf Wall theory was unchallenged by modern evidence, and the conclusion, if that theory was correct, that

the Fort, which was a temporary structure, only occupied for a year or eighteen months, was surrounded by a wall faced with

well squared stones and backed with a bank of puddled clay, while the ramparts of the permanent station were composed of turf only,

seemed so unreasonable, that the earliest period—during the propraetorship of Agricola—supported by the walling-up of the east gate and the absence of a north gate appeared to be the most probable of the three.

The question was left undecided in the hope that " in the near future . . . the uncommon shapes (of pottery) found in the Fort may yet furnish the evidence that is lacking to-day." The pottery evidence is now forthcoming, and if, upon it, the Turf Wall theory is disproved and the Wall of Stone ascribed to Hadrian, then the case for the Agricolan date of Haltwhistle Burn is entirely disposed of. For the pottery from that fort is not only similar to that from Throp, but equally so to the pottery from the earliest levels in the Poltross Burn milecastle on Hadrian's Wall.

The date of erection now rests on the very strong evidence of the absence of a north gate and the building-up of the east gate, which implies, if the fort was built about 120 A.D., that

The power of Hadrian, though sufficient to construct a line of works over seventy miles long, was insufficient to keep open more than one main gate of a Fort within his own lines. . . . this gate faced in a direction opposite to that in which the unfinished works lay, which it would be the duty of the garrison to protect from attack. Such evident contradictions entirely disappear when a pre-Hadrianic date is suggested, for in that case the whole purpose of the Fort is altered. Instead of being a temporary habitation for the builders, or guards, of a structure some distance away, it becomes an isolated post, the garrison of which is intent upon the defence of its own ramparts.

These arguments still hold good and are definitely strengthened by the evidence from the similar strongly defended Fort at Throp, which is close to the line of the same road, and to all appearances an isolated post.

The absence of definitely Flavian types of pottery, however, precludes the possibility of placing the erection of these forts more than five to ten years earlier than 120 A.D. It has been suggested that the inner fort at Castleshaw, which appears to be later than the outer fort in which Flavian pottery has been found, dates from the unsettled period at the end of Trajan's reign and before the arrival of Hadrian.

Though the evidence still favours a pre-Hadrianic date, no solution will be possible until the site at Nether Denton, which has produced definitely pre-Hadrianic pottery, has been re-examined.

The Stanegate.

Maclauchlan supposed that the continuation of the Stanegate which he traced westward from Magna to within 600 yards of the Poltross Burn (*Memoir*, p. 50) had Amboglanna for its objective, and thought he saw traces of its course between the Burn and Birdoswald (p. 53). Horsley also speaks of a road south of the Vallum at this point :—

> At Willowford, on the east side of the river, the Military Way seemed to be south of both Walls (*Britannia Romana*, p. 152).

The general known course of the Stanegate in Northumberland, and its supposed course in Cumberland, were described in these *Transactions*, O.S., xiv., p. 422, as follows :—

> Stanegate is a Roman road in Northumberland which runs south of the Vallum from Carvoran through Chesterholm to a point near the meeting of the North and the South Tyne, and which probably . . . extended as far as the Roman fort at Chesters, or that at Corbridge.

In a footnote, the finding of a milestone at Crindledykes, bearing the mileage MP XIIII, is recorded.

The spot where this stone was found is just fourteen Roman miles from the site of the Roman fort at Corbridge and . . . we may perhaps incline to the view that the Stanegate went to CORSTOPITUM.

The western continuation of the main street at CORSTOPITUM has now been named Stanegate (*Rep.*, 1911).

Since the time of Horsley it has been supposed that this road was continued into Cumberland. Horsley himself thought that it ran more probably from Castlesteads than Carvoran, and formed only a straight cut from Castlesteads by Irthington and the Watchclose "camp" to Stanwix (*Britannia*, p. 144). Others have traced it from Carvoran to Gilsland, Denton, Naworth Park, the Roman "camp" at Hawkhirst, Watchclose, and so into Carlisle.

In 1896 the supposed remains, or track, of the road were examined at various points between Gilsland and Watchclose, the results of which appeared to disprove the whole line from Gilsland to Carlisle. At that time the absence of the gutters, side-kerbs, and central "kerb" found at Brunstock and White Moss (*Transactions*, O.S., xiii., pp. 454, 455 and 461 and pl. iv.) was apparently held to disprove the Roman date of a road. The general method of construction of the remains in the various sections described on pp. 423-5 of *Transactions*, O.S., xiv., is, however, that of one, or another, of all the sections of the Stanegate and the Military Way in Northumberland made by the writer since 1907.*

The first attempts to trace the road, in 1909, on the west bank of the Poltross Burn were based on the idea that it aimed for Birdoswald. The trenches failed to reveal any definite remains of a road. The clue to its course was given by the position of the south-east gate at Throp, and the point where it crossed the Burn was located, in 1910, 250 yards south of the Vallum. This position affords the best available crossing point, for the steep banks, where the Wall and Vallum cross the Burn,

* No central "kerb" was found in any of these sections.

FIG. 36.—THE STANEGATE AT SECTION S1, PLATE XXXI., LOOKING S.E.

FIG. 37.—THE STANEGATE AT SECTION S2, PLATE I., LOOKING S.

have become gentle slopes (pl. xxxi.), while the actual crossing would be above a small waterfall where the natural rock forms a shallow ford (cf. the course at Haltwhistle Burn, *Report*, pl. I.).

On both sides of the stream the remains are much disturbed. At the east bank the course is traceable to within 75 feet of the fence between the fields Nos. 345 and 320 on the Crooks farm (O.S. Map. 25-inch scale, ed. 1900), making an angle of about 40° with the course of the stream. On account of the side slope, the outer edge was levelled up with clay, upon which the foundation of large stones was placed. Part of the foundation was found in three trenches. The course to the eastward, between this point and the last visible remains above Gap, in field No. 326 (*Transactions*, O.S., xv., p. 186), is doubtful. The fields Nos. 320, 321 and 325 have been ploughed probably for a long period, and all traces of the stonework of the road appear to have been obliterated.

In field No. 320 there is a hillock, separated from the main slope by a small valley, along the west side of which is an embankment or terrace following the outline of the hill. It has no doubt been formed largely by the ploughing down of the soil from the slope above, but a few large stones found in one trench may indicate that it originally carried the road round the hillock, to join the known line as indicated on pl. xxxi. A course to the south of the hillock presents greater difficulties. The ground to the north-east of Loanhead is very broken and the slopes to the west very steep, with another sharp fall at the point " 345 " on the plan.

On the west bank the course is traceable to within 50 feet of the fence between the fields Nos. 39 and 41, on the Throp farm. For about 200 feet the road is fairly well preserved, though the kerbing has been removed. The general direction is towards Throp. In section S1, fig. 36, the width is about 16 feet, the full width originally being

from 18 feet to 19 feet. The ground is swampy at this point, and a shallow ditch has been dug on the north side, the material from which appears to have been laid down first and the foundation of large and small water-worn and quarried stones bedded upon it. The gravel surface (cf. fig. 45) has been largely removed.

Within the ploughed area of the field the road is entirely obliterated.

About a quarter of a mile to the west a mound crosses two fields in the same general line. It appears from several trenches cut across it to be an old field dyke of earth "spread" by later ploughing.

Further west is an old field road from Throp to Upper Denton, shown on Maclauchlan's *Survey*, sheet iv., which runs into the road to Bush Nook farm (pl. 1.). The writer was informed that 60 or 70 years ago the track was continued across the next field, No. 124, to the sharp turn in the modern road. Across this field there is a low mound, a few feet to the south of the old track.

A trench 40 feet west of Bush Nook lane (S2, pl. 1., and fig. 37) revealed the remains of a road of the same construction as the Stanegate at section S1. The kerbing is in position at the north side, but not at the south. The original width would be about 19 feet. The gravel surface is well preserved on the crown. Another trench, at the west side of the field, showed part of the foundation, but no kerbs.

This road, with the later track at the side, cannot be dismissed as modern, but must be the continuation of the Stanegate. In the fields Nos. 129 and 58, to the eastward, it may yet be found under the hedge at the south side of the old farm road, but from that point, in a fairly straight course past Throp to the remains near the fort, a distance of half a mile, the road is probably entirely obliterated.

Section S2 carries the road beyond any point at which

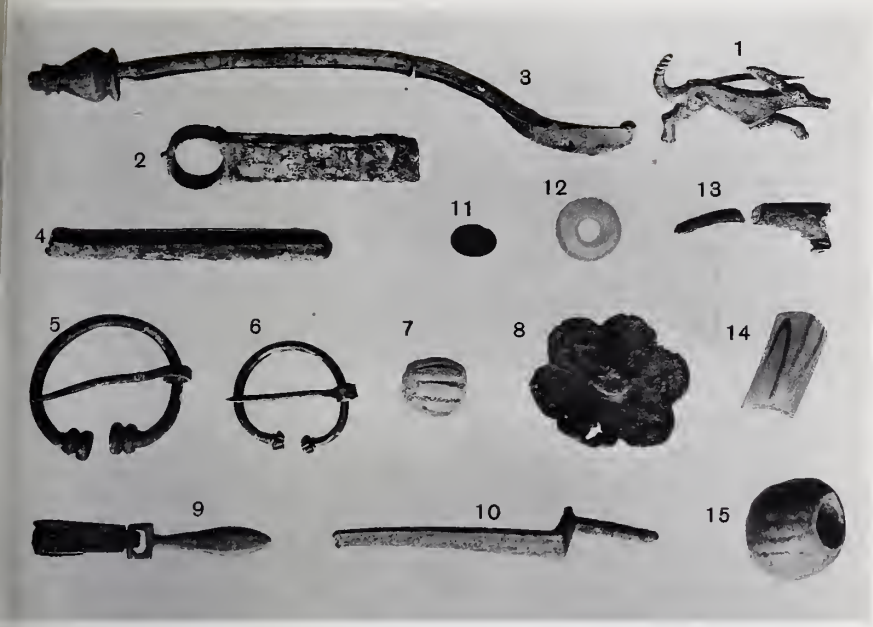


FIG. 38.—OBJECTS OF BRONZE, GLASS, ETC.

FIG. 39.—DECORATED SAMIAN POTTERY FROM NETHER DENTON (1868).

it could reasonably be expected to turn, if its objective was AMBOGLANNA. It is clearly aiming for Nether Denton. Between Upper Denton and Chapelburn no trenches were made recently, but the line is probably that taken by the modern road, which, however, was diverted west of Upper Denton when the railway was made. The ravine above the Mains farm accounts for the turns in the modern road. The course of the Stanegate in hilly country is, however, far from the conventional straight line.

The site at Nether Denton was first examined in 1868 (*Transactions*, o.s., i., p. 88). The report makes it quite clear that a fort stood on the hill now occupied by the church and rectory, while the bulk of the finds came from fields to the south and west. The remarkable series of coins, 89 in number, the latest of which are of Trajan, and the decorated Samian pottery, now known to be the earliest yet found on any site in the neighbourhood of the Wall except LUGUVALLIUM and CORSTOPITUM, are preserved in the Museum at Chesters.

Fragments of three bowls, of type Dr. 37, with the "transitional" decoration of the late Domitian-Trajanic period, are shown in fig. 39.

In 1911 the authenticity of the pottery was fully established by the discovery of similar pottery in the field, No. 105, south of the rectory and the road, during draining operations. A wall was also located in one trench. The pottery was presented to Tullie House by the owner, Mr. T. G. Charlton, of Carlisle. Fig. 40 (next page) and section No. N.D. 1, pl. xxvi., represent a bowl of type Dr. 37, discovered in 1911.

The roll mound separating the two decorated bands, and the absence of the egg-and-tassel border, in the place of which is a V-shaped groove, are early features.

Though no remains of the road were found in 1896, the discovery of two funereal urns, full of burnt bones, in

1861, one of which is now in the Blackgate Museum at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and of a third urn, also filled with burnt bones, in 1909, at High Nook farm, 750 yards west of the fort, gives a possible indication of its course. The urn discovered in 1909 was in the possession of the late Dr. Jackson, of Hexham. Its section is given on pl. xxvi., No. N.D. 2. It is of grey clay.

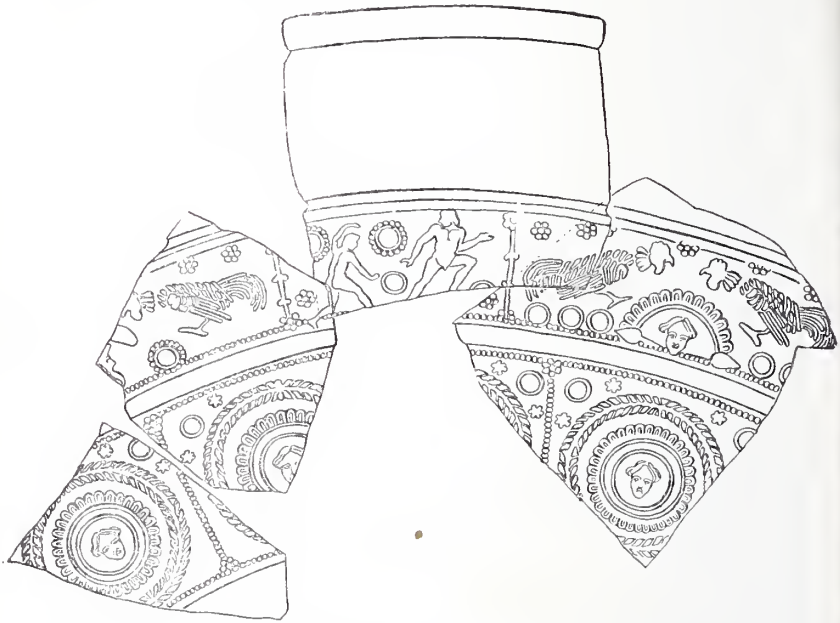


Fig. 40. Decorated Samian Pottery from Nether Denton (1911).

The course of the road westward from Nether Denton is at present uncertain for about 6½ miles. The absence of Roman remains at Hawkhirst (*Transactions*, o.s., xv., p. 358) removes the necessity for a road so far to the south, which might have been represented by the fragment at Pavement Head (xiv., p. 424), and strengthens the impression that its next objective was a junction with the road marked "Roman Way" on sheet iv. of Maclauchlan's *Survey*, which leads from Buckjumping to Crosby-on-Eden.

This road was examined in 1896 and thought to be modern for two reasons, (1) that in construction it "resembled many local roads," and (2) that it was part of "the old road from Crosby to Irthington . . ., which was in use in the time of . . . Warburton (1753)" (xiv., p. 425). The first reason can no longer be advanced as real proof of its modern date,* while Warburton's map surely disproves the second.

In his introduction to the *Vallum Romanum*, Warburton says that his map was made in 1716, when it was first suggested, after the '15, that a military road should be made from Newcastle to Carlisle. The map was published with the book in 1753, when the road was made after the '45. Wade's road clearly follows the line of the "New Projected Road" on Warburton's map, except for $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles between Crosby and Ruleholm. The scale of the map is about $\frac{2}{3}$ inch to a mile. Its accuracy is satisfactory, and very different from that of Horsley's map.

FIG. 41. WATCHCROSS AND NEIGHBOURHOOD (from Warburton's Map).

* It was evidently repaired and used since Roman times.

The question is decided by the relative positions of the Roman site at Watchcross, or Watchclose, marked "ABALLABA," and the modern road shown near it. That the position of Watchcross camp is quite accurate is proved by comparing measurements from Crosby, to the west, and Bleatarn (Blattering), to the north, with the distances on the Ordnance Map. About half-way between Bleatarn and Watchcross the present Gill House is marked as "Farm."

The road from Crosby, through High Crosby, continues in a straight line past the *south* side of the camp at a distance of about 150 to 200 yards, beyond which it bears slightly to the northward and turns sharply at a point marked by buildings, unnamed, but by measurement clearly Beanlands. From this point it runs north-east to Irthington. A road branches off at Watchcross and runs direct to Ruleholm (Rillholme).

The "New Projected Road" is shown leaving High Crosby about 100 to 150 yards to the north, the road just described at Watchcross 400 yards, and the camp 600 yards to the north. No road is shown to the *north* of Watchcross camp.

When these measurements are compared with the Ordnance Map and Maclauchlan's *Survey*, it will be seen that Wade's road, as finally constructed, runs through High Crosby, and past the *south* side of Watchcross camp at a distance of 180 yards, *i.e.*, it exactly follows the road to Irthington existing in Warburton's time, as far as Watchcross. It then bears slightly to the southward, very nearly on the line of the branch road already mentioned, to Ruleholm. Half a mile from Watchcross a road branches sharply to the north to Beanlands, beyond which it is clearly the Irthington road existing in Warburton's time. The road which appears to have been closed after Wade's road was made is that direct portion between Watchcross and Beanlands, shown on Warburton's map.

All these alterations, however, are on the *south* side of Watchcross camp. The "Roman Way," on the other hand, leaves High Crosby and Crosby Moor about 100 yards to the south, and Watchcross over 400 yards to the south, running direct to Buckjumping. At Watchcross the Roman Way is therefore 600 yards *north* of the road from Crosby to Irthington shown on Warburton's map. It should certainly continue to bear that name, unless, in the future, it is replaced by that of "Stanegate."

The Roman date of Watchcross has also been greatly discredited, but in view of the results obtained at Throp, which it resembled in size and shape (*Memoir*, p. 72), it should be examined. In the absence of other remains, its area and the position of its gates could be recovered from the course of the ditch.

The objective of the mediæval Stanegate, or Carelgate, was Carlisle. First century pottery has now been found at both Carlisle and Corbridge. The Roman Stanegate was probably the original line of communication between those stations, forming with the forts on its line the frontier after the retreat from Scotland, until the building of the Wall.

The Military Way and the Vallum.

During excavations at Down Hill, near Hunnum, in 1893, a road was discovered running on the north berm of the Vallum. It was traced from Carr Hill to the point where the Vallum turns to avoid Down Hill, a distance of nearly 500 yards, where it leaves the north berm and runs between the Vallum and the Wall (*Arch. Ael.*, 2nd ser., xvi., pl. o i a, and p. xxvi.). Though no other road (representing the Military Way) was found between the Wall and the Vallum, its Roman date was doubted, and gradually discredited. It is, however, clearly the Military Way. The cause of its diversion has yet to be ascertained.

In 1908 the course of the Military Way was traced for

five furlongs to the east of the Haltwhistle Burn. About 120 yards from the Burn the road was found crossing the north mound of the Vallum, in a cutting; then running for 300 yards on the berm, and after again crossing the mound resuming its normal course. The broken surface of the south slope of Burnhead Crags no doubt caused the deviation at this point.

Search has been made for the course of the Military Way, or Mural Road, near the Poltross Burn on several occasions (*Transactions*, o.s., xiii., p. 468, and xv., pp. 186 and 190), and the road appeared to have been definitely located in its normal position, between the vicarage and the railway.

In 1910 further search was made, at first close to the railway on the west side, for its continuation in the normal position, but without result. Later, a trench was carried across the full width of the Vallum to the south-west of the milecastle (section 1, pl. xxxi.) The north mound was completely removed, with the south-west corner of the milecastle, when the railway was made in 1835. The very slight remains of the south mound extended over a width of 30 feet. The ditch was not large, the width being less than 20 feet at the top and about 5 feet at the bottom, and the depth nearly 5 feet.

On the north berm a road was found, 22 feet wide, similar in construction to the Stanegate in sections S1 and S2. The gravel surface has been removed. The south kerbing was exposed for 18 feet (fig. 42). It was observed that the kerb was in line with a telegraph-post on the railway embankment. The centre-line of the Vallum ditch is 172 feet south of the Wall at this section. In another trench, nearer the railway, the foundation was traceable, but much disturbed.

The work was resumed in 1912. A trench was cut through the north mound, and across the berm and ditch, west of the railway (section 2). The mound is

Fig. 43.—South Kerb, between Sections 3 and 4, looking E

Fig. 42.—South Kerb of Military Way at Section 1, Plate xxxi., looking W.

FIG. 44.—MILITARY WAY AT SECTION 3, LOOKING S.

FIG. 45.—ROAD SURFACE AT SECTION 4, LOOKING N.E.

composed of strong gravelly clay, without any sign of special construction. A good section of the ditch was obtained. It was over 5 feet deep originally and rather wider than in section 1. The subsoil is compact glacial drift below gravel. The bottom is filled with black peaty material to a depth of 2 feet 6 inches. On the berm the foundation of the road again appears, but is not very perfect in this section. The centre-line of the ditch is here 173 feet south of the Wall.

A good section of the road was obtained 30 feet further west (section 3, and fig. 44). The gravel surface is partly removed, but the kerbs are in position at both sides, the full width being 19 feet 3 inches. The south kerb has evidently been raised, and in several places two rough courses were found in position. The bottom of the valley has been a peat-moss, and in sections 3 and 4 the foundation is formed of flat stones which have "floated" upon the soft material below. Westward from section 3 the south edge of the road was exposed for about 50 feet (fig. 43), showing the coursed kerbing. The kerb is again in line with the telegraph-post, and therefore with the kerb in section 1.

In the next section (4), close to the small watercourse, the road surface is remarkably well preserved (fig. 45). The width is 18 feet 6 inches, but the north kerb is missing. The ditch was examined and proved to be very small at this point (cf. the ditch at White Moss, *Transactions*, o.s., xiii., p. 460). It is only 14 feet wide. The boulder clay forms the bottom, which is only 4 feet below the present surface. At this section the centre-line of the ditch is again about 173 feet from the Wall.

In the vicarage garden two sections, 5 and 6, showed that the road still ran along the berm. The north side of the ditch has collapsed, carrying with it nearly half the road. The ditch is parallel to the Wall as far as section 5, where the Wall turns 8° to the southward. At section

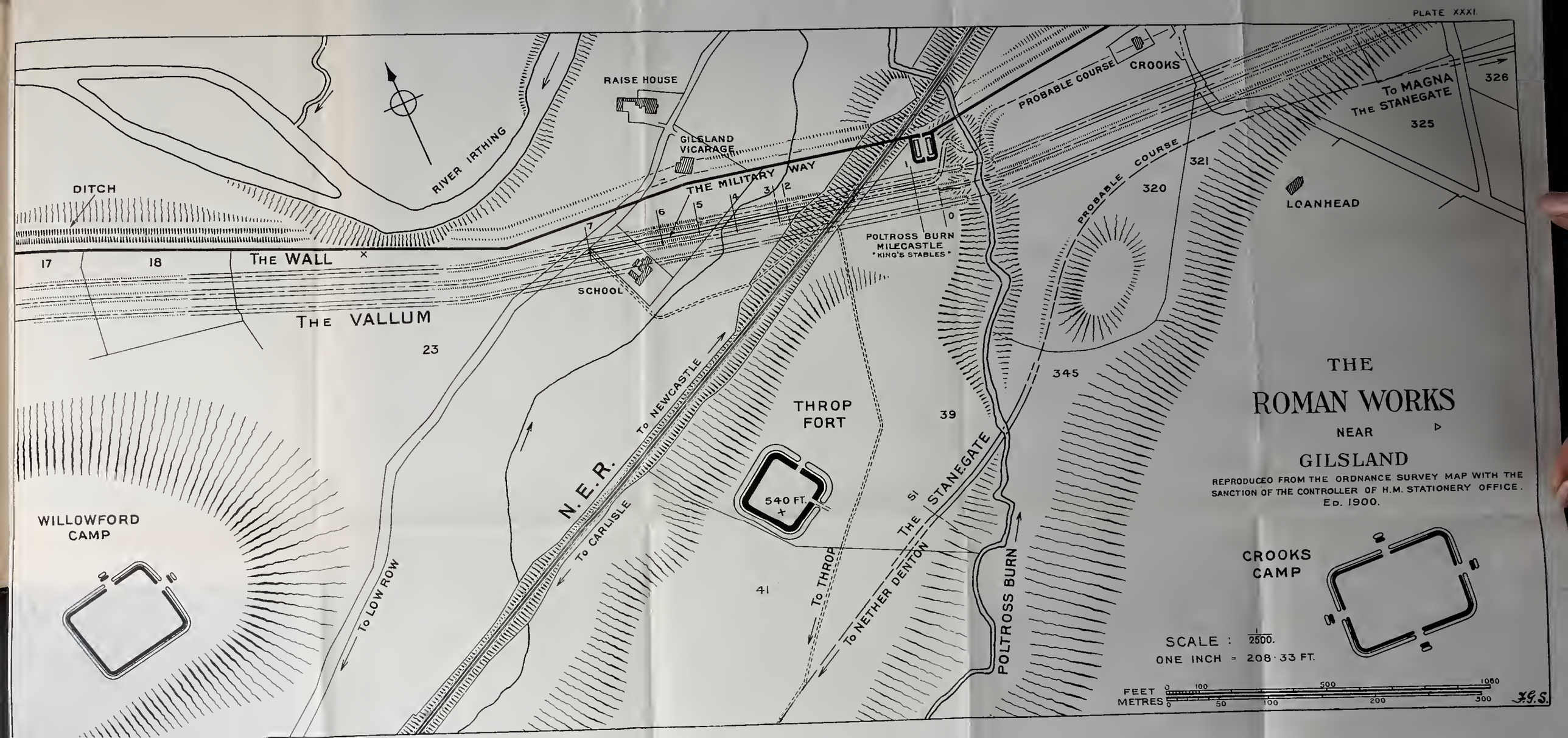
6 the centre-line of the ditch is 150 feet from the Wall.

The road was traced across the school-yard in 1896, but was thought to turn to the south-west beyond (*Transactions*, O.S., xiv., p. 423. "North-east to south-west" should read "north-west to south-east," cf. xv., p. 185). In the corner of the field (No. 22), between the school-yard and the road, the foundation and the south kerb were again found (fig. 46). The gravel surface has been removed. The width at present is about 16 feet, but the north side is disturbed and the kerb missing. The centre-line of the ditch is here about 118 feet from the Wall. These measurements show that the Vallum is quite straight from the milecastle to the modern road to Low Row. The Military Way appears to continue along the berm for a few yards to the west of the road, in field No. 23, but the works are greatly worn down by ploughing. Until excavation can be undertaken on Willowford farm, the course of the road westward must remain in doubt.

The Vallum continues in a straight line to a point about 40 yards west of the sharp turn in the Wall (80 yards from section 7), where it makes a turn of 9° to the northward. It is then completely obliterated for 250 yards, but is again traceable in the next fields Nos. 18 and 17. At the field wall the centre-line of the ditch is 145 feet south of the Wall. It is again obliterated as it approaches the farmhouse.

Throughout this section the distance between the centre-lines of the north and south mounds is from 100 to 105 feet.

Eastward from section 1 the course of the road across the mound is obliterated. Some remains below the south-east corner of the milecastle seem to indicate that it ran obliquely half-way down the slope, and then turned sharply, taking perhaps the line of the modern path made about 40 years ago. The crossing point, and the course on the east side can only be conjectured. The lowest


THE
ROMAN WORKS
NEAR
GILSLAND
REPRODUCED FROM THE ORDNANCE SURVEY MAP WITH THE SANCTION OF THE CONTROLLER OF H.M. STATIONERY OFFICE. ED. 1900.
SCALE : 1/2500.
ONE INCH = 208·33 FT.
FEET 0 100 500 1000
METRES 0 50 100 200 300
RIVER IRTHING
DITCH
RAISE HOUSE
GILSLAND VICARAGE
THE MILITARY WAY
THE WALL
THE VALLUM
SCHOOL
POLTROSS BURN MILECASTLE
"KING'S STABLES"
PROBABLE COURSE
CROOKS
To MAGNA
THE STANEGATE
LOANHEAD
THROP FORT
540 FT.
N.E.R.
To NEWCASTLE
To CARLISLE
To LOW ROW
To THROP
To NETHER DENTON
THE STANEGATE
POLTROSS BURN
WILLOWFORD CAMP
CROOKS CAMP
17
18
23
39
41
320
321
325
326
345

terrace, though no remains have been found upon it, seems to be the probable track.

The reason for the deviation of the road appears to have been the difficulty of making the sharp turn required to carry it between the milecastle and the north mound, where the available space was less than 30 feet, on account of the steepness of the banks of the Burn. The nearness of the Wall to the north mound at the turn in field No. 23, where the available space would not be more than 20 to 25 feet, may have been a further reason.

The Ditch at the Poltross Burn.

In 1886 it was supposed that the crossing of the Burn by the Stanegate had been discovered about 70 yards south of the Wall, and that the road had been carried down deep stone-faced cuttings to a bridge (*Transactions*, O.S., ix., p. 164), but in 1897 it was found that the cuttings were simply the Vallum ditch carried down as nearly as possible to the edge of the stream (*Transactions*, O.S., xv., p. 179). The retaining-walls were again partly exposed in that year, and a portion of the south wall at the west bank is illustrated on p. 210.

The object of the work in 1910 was to clear the walls at the west bank completely, and to ascertain the gradient of the bottom of the ditch. The walls at the east bank were not examined. At this point a very soft shaley rock forms the bed and the lower part of the banks of the Burn. The bottom of the ditch was examined from a point 130 feet west of the middle of the stream (o, plates xxxi. and xxxiv.), to within 20 feet of the foot of the slope where a large tree stands in the ditch, and near the retaining-walls.

The gradient of the bottom is approximately as follows: From section A, pl. xxxiv., for 20 feet, 1 in 1.8; for a further 30 feet, 1 in 2.3; and for the remaining 50 feet to point o, 1 in 4.6, becoming less steep at the top.

Where the shaley surface could be examined, the broken edges of the thin beds of stone are quite sharp and must soon have been covered with soil washed down from the sides (fig. 48).

The retaining-walls are 12 feet apart at the bottom. The remains of the south wall show 14 courses of squared stones, very similar to the facing stones of the Great Wall. The face of the lower six courses is curved. The upper courses no doubt formed a straight face along the ditch, but the remaining stones turn outwards meeting the rock face at about 60° (fig. 49). There is a distinct rubble core behind the face at the outer end (section A). There are no signs of lime-mortar in the face or core.

The north wall is almost entirely destroyed. Only six stones remain in position, of which five, representing five courses, abut upon the rock which forms the side of the ditch above. There is no core behind this fragment.

The solid rock ends 6 feet east of section A, beyond which the bottom has been made of stone pitching for about 3 feet (fig. 48). The object of the whole work appears to have been to carry forward the ditch to the edge of the stream artificially, beyond the position where the steep banks could have formed the sides and bottom naturally. The remains strongly confirm the view that the ditch was the essential feature of the Vallum.

Higher up the slope some very rough walling was found in the ditch near the south side (fig. 47). The west end (4 feet from point o) is curved. At 25 feet from the end, it turns 7° to the southward and continues for about 37 feet down the slope. It is not carried down to the bottom of the ditch at the west end. It may represent later repairing of the ditch, the south side of which may have collapsed. The flagging (fig. 47, foreground) may be of still later date, when the ditch was filled up.

FIG. 46.—SOUTH KERB OF MILITARY WAY AT SECTION 7, LOOKING E.

FIG. 47.—WALLING AT S. SIDE OF VALLUM DITCH, LOOKING E., FROM SECTION O.

FIG. 48.—THE VALLUM DITCH AT POLTROSS BURN, W. BANK, LOOKING S.W.

FIG. 49.—SOUTH RETAINING-WALL OF DITCH.

The Vallum Mounds.

Excavation on the line of the Vallum at Cawfields and elsewhere (*Report in preparation*) has explained the special construction, or kerbing, at the sides of the north and south mounds in many places, indications of which were found in the sections cut at Brunstock in 1894 (*Transactions*, O.S., xiii., pl. ii.) and at Hare Hill in 1903 (N.S., iv., fig. 3, p. 245).

The discovery that the north and south mounds have been broken through at short regular intervals for considerable distances, in Roman times, was made at Cawfields in 1908 and has since been confirmed at several points (*Report in preparation*). These gaps are traceable in the north mound for over half a mile eastward from a point nearly opposite Appletree turret. The regularity of the distances between them is shown by the following measurements from centre to centre (in yards, from the west) :—42, 41, 43, 43, 43, 46, 47, 46, 46, 46, 51, 33 (the last two together equal 84, or 42 × 2), 43, 43, 44, 43, 43, 41, 44, 44, between 21 gaps. They are indicated by dots on pl. i.

The most remarkable feature along this part of the line is the occurrence of similar breaks in the line of the Turf Wall opposite the gaps in the Vallum mound.

The purpose of the gaps has still to be ascertained, and their relative date discovered. The mounds have certainly had an unbroken longitudinal section originally, for the material removed from the gaps can generally be traced on the surface, spread invariably *outside* the Vallum. The best example of this "spreading" can be seen on Wallend Common near Greenhead. Where the mounds are well preserved, as at Cawfields, the gaps are from 10 to 13 yards wide at the top. At several points they appear in one mound only, either the north or south. Where they appear in both, they are directly opposite each other. They have not been found in the

marginal mound at any point. Four or five gaps about 45 yards apart can be seen in the north mound, at Davidson's Banks, west of Carlisle.

Crooks and Willowford Camps.

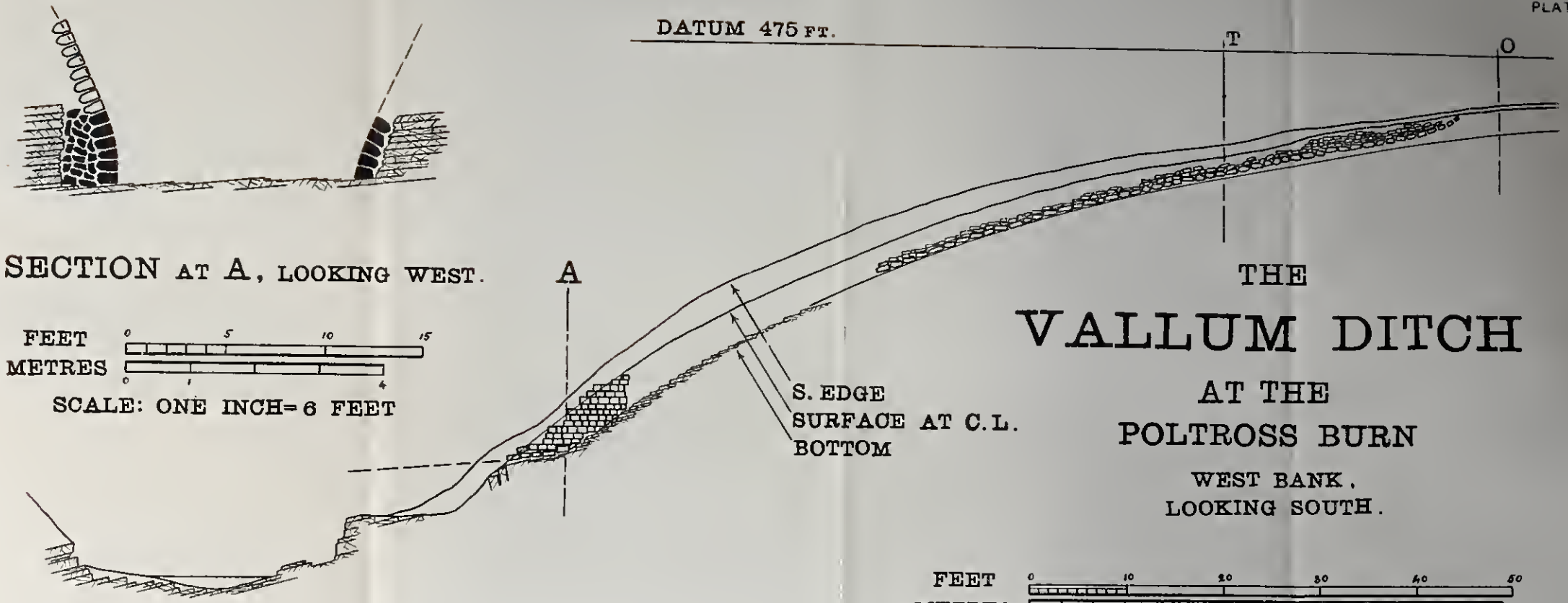
Work was confined to surveying these camps. They were in danger of disappearing from the Ordnance Map on which (ed. 1900) Crooks camp was reduced to a sixth of its true area, and Willowford moved to an old quarry (?) some distance to the west! In view of the date of the pottery found by Mr. Newbold in the earthwork on Walwick Fell, these camps should repay examination. The east side of Willowford camp is curiously curved. It clearly has only two gates (*Memoir*, p. 52). The granite boulder "Greystone" still lies within the south-east angle.

The probable site of a turret is marked by a cross in the Willowford field No. 23. It would be over 580 yards from Poltross Burn milecastle, and will easily be located by excavation.

I very gladly acknowledge the kind assistance which I have received during the progress and completion of the work.

I wish to record the invaluable help which I derived from the wide knowledge and critical judgment of my partner in the work, the late Mr. J. P. Gibson, F.S.A.

My best thanks are due to the landowners, the Dowager Countess of Carlisle, at Appletree, the Trustees of the late Mr. T. Ramshay, at High House, the Brampton Rural District Council, and Mr. T. E. Baxter, Clerk to the Council, Mr. J. Wright of Birdoswald, Mr. J. Birkett, near Upper Denton, and the Rev. W. G. Bird, Vicar of Gilsland, for their kind permission to excavate the various sites, and to the tenants, Mr. A. Sproat of Lanerton, Messrs. J. and J. Laidler of High House, Mr. W.



SECTION AT A, LOOKING WEST.

THE VALLUM DITCH AT THE POLTROSS BURN

WEST BANK, LOOKING SOUTH.

1910

F.G.S.

Graham of Upper Denton, Mr. J. Armstrong of Throp, and Mr. W. Waugh of Crooks, for much help during the progress of the work.

I am greatly indebted to Professor Haverfield, F.S.A., Mr. H. H. E. Craster, M.A., F.S.A., and Mr. Philip Newbold for their valuable contributions to this report, and to Mr. E. T. Leeds, M.A., F.S.A., for kindly examining the modern pottery.

From Mr. T. H. Hodgson, F.S.A., President of this Society, and Mrs. Hodgson, I received very valuable help in the earlier stages of the work, and from Mr. W. G. Collingwood, F.S.A., and Mr. Edward Wilson in its latest stage.

All the "finds" have now been deposited in the Museum at Tullie House.

It is hoped that the Report to which reference has been made, entitled, "*Excavations on the line of the Roman Wall in Northumberland during the years* 1907-12," will shortly be published by Mr. Titus Wilson.

PROCEEDINGS.

Summer Meeting.

THE first excursion of the season was held in the Maryport district, with headquarters at Carlisle, on Thursday and Friday, June 27th and 28th, 1912. The committee for local arrangements consisted of Messrs. J. F. Curwen, F.S.A., Edwin Jackson, J. H. Martindale, F.R.I.B.A., the Rev. F. L. H. Millard, M.A., and Mr. Edward Wilson, Hon. Secretary. Those present during the whole or part of the meeting included Mrs. Atkinson, Dr. Barnes, Mr. H. H. Batten, Mrs. Bateson, Miss Beevor, Mr. R. Blair, F.S.A., and Mrs. Blair, Mr. A. P. Brydson, Mr. W. G., Mr. R. G. and Miss Ursula Collingwood, Mr. Robert Crowder, the Misses Cumpston, Mr. J. P. Fell, Mr. James Fendley, Miss M. Fothergill, Mr. T. H. B. Graham, Mr. Francis Grainger, Mr. J. R. Highmoor, Major Harris, Mr. C. Courtenay Hodgson, Mrs. T. Hesketh Hodgson and Miss Hodgson, Mr. and Mrs. W. Irwin, Col. Jackson, Miss Alice Johnson, Mr. H. H. Llewellyn, Mr. and Mrs. J. H. Martindale, the Rev. F. L. H. Millard, Mr. Percy Musgrave, the Misses Noble, the Rev. A. S. Newton, Dr. C. A. Parker, Mr. James Randall, the Rev. G. E. P. Reade, Mr. and Mrs. A. W. Rumney, Miss Rymer, Mr. Daniel Scott, Mr. J. Sewell, Mr. F. Gerald Simpson, Mr. J. Slack, Miss Spring-Rice, Miss Sutton, Mrs. and Miss Todd, Mr. and Mrs. Procter Watson, Mr. and Mrs. Edward Wilson, Mr. J. S. Yeates.

At a meeting of Council a resolution of regret was unanimously passed on receiving the resignation of the chairman, Mr. T. H. Hodgson, on account of continued ill-health. Thanks for his services as chairman of Council during the past twelve years were heartily accorded, and satisfaction expressed that Mr. Hodgson still remained President of the Society. Mr. W. G. Collingwood was elected chairman of Council. Various reports were read; grants were made of £8 to Mr. J. W. Jackson for exploration of a cave near Dallam Tower, and of £5 5s. as a donation towards the purchase of the Borrans field (Roman Camp) at Ambleside by the National Trust, and the scheme recommended to members for support. The Hon. Secretary was directed to inform the authorities that, in the opinion of

this Council, the Carlisle Probate Office would be a suitable place for the preservation of Cumberland wills. The tower of Burgh-by-Sands church and the proposed road over Hardknott were discussed, but definite recommendations were postponed.

On Thursday, June 27th, the following places were visited and described :—Holme Cultram Abbey, by the Rev. William Baxter, Mr. J. H. Martindale (Art. XXIII.) and Mr. Francis Grainger; Raby Cote, by Mr. F. Grainger (see these *Transactions*, N.S., i., Art. XVIII.); Newton Arlosh, by Mr. J. F. Curwen (Art. IX., read in the author's absence by Mr. Collingwood) and the Rev. W. Mitchell who exhibited the pitcher (Art. X.); Aikton church, by Mr. Barnes (Art. XXVII.); Downhall, by Mr. T. H. B. Graham (see these *Transactions*, N.S., x., 112); Kirkbampton church, by Mr. Martindale (Art. XXIV.). The party was most hospitably entertained to tea at Aikton Vicarage by the Rev. W. and Mrs. Jefferson, to whom Dr. Barnes expressed the thanks of the visitors.

The annual general meeting was held at the Crown and Mitre Hotel, Carlisle, Dr. Barnes in the chair. The officers of the Society were re-elected with the substitution of Mr. T. H. B. Graham as member of Council for the late Mr. F. H. M. Parker.

The following new members were elected :—Mr. Harry Gandy, Skirsgill Park, Penrith; Miss Rymer, Calder Abbey; Mr. H. Ballantyne Dykes, Dovenby Hall; Professor T. McKenny Hughes, M.A., F.R.S., F.G.S., F.S.A., Trinity College, Cambridge; Major Charles Joseph Harris, M.D., Whitehaven; Miss F. M. Wood, Bramerton Lodge, Carlisle; Miss R. Owen, Belmount Hall, Outgate, Ambleside; the Rev. J. P. Haslam, M.A., The Vicarage, Crosby Ravensworth; Mr. James Fendley, 1, Wellington Place, Botcherby; Mr. Wm. Parkin Moore, Whitehall, Cumberland; Mr. John Backhouse Beckton, 81, Castle Street, Carlisle, and Sanden House, Abbeytown; the Rev. William Baxter, M.A., The Rectory, Abbeytown, Carlisle; Mr. John Williamson, Brigham Hill, Cockermouth.

The report of the Parish Register Section for the nine months since it had been established was read, as follows :—

At the general meeting of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society, held in September, 1911, it was agreed to form a Parish Register Section, and the following gentlemen were appointed to carry out the work of the Section :—Chancellor Prescott, Dr. Haswell, Messrs. Henry Brierley, Charles Forster, and C. W. Ruston-Harrison.

As to the work done since: Dr. Haswell was made Hon. Secretary and Treasurer. Circulars were printed and sent to every member of the parent Society, and also to the Secretaries of the Lincoln, Northumberland and

Durham, and Yorkshire Societies for issue to their members. We also sent copies to any friends or acquaintances who were interested in Parish Registers or Genealogy. At present we have a list of 53 members.

With regard to the issue of volumes: A Register of Cumberland will be published one year and of Westmorland the next, and so on alternately. The transcripts will be as in the Registers (with additions or differences from the Bishop's Transcripts in *italic*), except that the Baptisms, Marriages, Burials, and Miscellaneous entries will be sorted out where necessary and printed under their respective headings. There will be three indexes to each volume issued:—(1) Surnames with christian names, (2) Place names, (3) Miscellaneous (trades, etc.).

We have decided to print only ten more copies than the number previously subscribed for.

This year we are printing the first volume of Dacre transcribed by Mr. Brierley. We hope it will be ready before the meeting in September.

Next year we hope to issue Warcop, which is being transcribed by Dr. Abercrombie. To this volume £5 has been promised towards the expense.

Future volumes will be chosen from the following Parishes whose incum bents have kindly given us leave to publish:—

Cumberland:—Addingham, Arthuret, Bewcastle, Bolton, Burgh-on-Sands, Carlisle (St. Cuthbert), Castle Carrock, Crosby-on-Eden, Crosscanonby, Crosthwaite (Keswick), Cumrew, Cumwhitton, Dean, Distington, Haile, Hayton, High Head, Irthington, Kirkandrews-on-Eden with Beaumont and Grinsdale, Kirkandrews-on-Esk, Kirkbampton, Moresby, Netherwasdale, Nicholforest, Plumland, Rocliffe, Scaleby, Stanwix, Thursby, Warwick, Wetheral, Workington.

Westmorland:—Cliburn, Milburn, Grasmere, Kendal (leave was given by Canon Trench), Staveley-in-Kendal. Several other Westmorland Registers have been transcribed, and the transcribers will probably allow us to print their transcripts. The first volume of Milburn has been transcribed by Mr. Brierley, who has kindly offered to pay all the expenses of its publication.

We shall be glad to have the names of any who are willing to subscribe. Fifty-three subscribers at 10/6 per year will not cover the cost of printing, and we do not wish to get into debt. If any wish to subscribe for one or more parishes we shall be glad to have the promise and the name of the parish or parishes.

C. W. Ruston-Harrison.

The Editor reported the progress of the new Record-publication Fund, thanking those who had responded to the appeal with donations and subscriptions which amounted, at the time of speaking, to £41 19s. He explained that this would enable the Society to continue its partnership with the Canterbury and York Society in the transcription and publication of Bishop Halton's Register, and expressed a hope that further assistance would be forthcoming for the remainder of the ancient Diocesan Registers and similar works for which funds to cover the initial outlay were needed. He mentioned also the proposal to buy the Roman Camp at Ambleside and surrounding land at a cost

of £4,000, and to place it under the National Trust, to which the Council had voted the small donation of 5 guineas to express its approval of the object, and commended the scheme to the generosity of members.

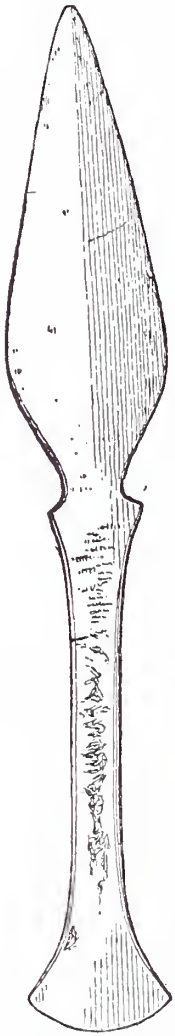
The following papers were read or summarised :—" Recent explorations at High House Milecastle, etc." (Art. XXX.), by Mr. F. Gerald Simpson ; " Report on Caves at Warton Crag," by Mr. J. W. Jackson (Art. III., read by the Editor) ; " On Antlers of a Stag found in the Gilpin," by Prof. T. McKenny Hughes (Art. IV., read by Mr. C. Courtenay Hodgson) ; " The Parish of Warwick," by Mr. T. H. B. Graham (Art. IX.) ; and " The Ings Registers," by the Rev. G. E. P. Reade (Art. VI.). Mr. A. P. Brydson's paper on the Assize of 1256 (Art. V.) was submitted, but not read for want of time. Mr. L. E. Hope exhibited a seventeenth century spoon (Art. XII.), and Mr. J. H. Martindale showed Roman relics from Papcastle. On behalf of the Rev. James Wilson, who was unable to be present, the Hebrew medal (Art. VII.) was handed round.

On Friday the 28th the start from Aspatria Station was delayed by a thunderstorm, but at Hayton Castle there was an interval of fair weather, and the kindness of Mr. and Miss Mitchell in providing unexpected refreshments for the party was much appreciated. The house was described by Mr. Martindale (Art. XXII.), and Mr. Collingwood returned thanks in the Society's name for the hospitality shown by Mr. and Miss Mitchell and to the reader of the paper and Mr. C. M. Wilford who had assisted in its preparation. At Crosscanonby the Rev. W. J. Marsh described the church (Art. XXV.), but at the Hall the visitors were disappointed through the absence of Mr. J. B. Bailey, detained by the weather ; the article intended for reading is printed above (Art. XXVI.). After luncheon at the Golden Lion, Maryport, the rain ceased and the Roman Camp was visited, Messrs. T. Carey and J. B. Bailey acting as guides.

Mr. J. B. Bailey also exhibited a bronze dagger found within a short distance from the Roman road, about half a mile from the Camp. It measures 10½ inches long, 1⅝ inch broad across the leaf-shaped blade, and ¼ inch thick at the base of the blade ; and weighs a trifle over 6 ounces. The form is as shown in the sketch (page 402). Mr. Reginald A. Smith, F.S.A., of the British Museum, kindly examined it and reported that it " seems to be a modern fabrication. It has no meaning in its form, and the marks on it point to modern tooling."

Mr. Bailey also showed a bronze coin found near Bowness-on-

Solway; this also was submitted later to Mr. Reginald A. Smith, and proved to be a Turkish coin of Suleiman II., A.D. 1520-1566,



BRONZE "DAGGER" FROM MARYPORT (½).

struck at Cairo: inscribed:—"May his victory be glorious; struck in the metropolis (Misr)"; reverse, an arabesque.

Before leaving the Camp, Dr. Barnes expressed the thanks of the party to Messrs. Carey and Bailey.

On arrival at Papcastle the weather was bright and the company increased by a considerable attendance of local residents. Mr. R. G. Collingwood, who had been named by Professor Haverfield to the Society's committee for exploration of the Roman Camp as a suitable superintendent of the works, and had spent a week in excavation, described the site and remains (Art. XIII.). Dr. Barnes returned the acknowledgments of the visitors to the owner of the land, the tenant, and the excavator.

The party broke up at Cockermouth feeling that if the earlier part of the excursion had been made less enjoyable by the weather, it had not failed in interest and had ended pleasantly.

Autumn Meeting.

The second excursion of the season was held in the Penrith district on Thursday and Friday, September 5th and 6th, 1912. The committee for local arrangements consisted of Major Fetherstonhaugh, the Rev. C. J. Gordon, Mr. T. H. B. Graham, Dr. Haswell, Col. Edwin Jackson, Mr. D. Scott, and Mr. Edward Wilson. Among those present during the whole or part of the proceedings were :—The Rt. Hon. the Speaker of the House of Commons and Dr. Barnes, vice-presidents ; Dr. and Mrs. Abercrombie, the Rev. T. W. Anderson, Mr. St. Clair Baddeley, Mr. J. Black, Lady Borwick, Mr. Henry and Mrs. Brierley and Miss Wrigley, Canon Campbell and party, Miss Lucy Cartmell, Mr. W. G. Collingwood, Mrs. Cropper (Wombwell), the Misses Cumpston, Mr. John F. and Mrs. Curwen, Miss Donald, Mr. W. Dobson, the Rev. R. Duncan, the Rev. J. H. and Mrs. Eastwood, Mr. G. W. Elliott, Major and Mrs. Fetherstonhaugh, Miss Fothergill, Mr. F. Gandy, Mr. W. and Mrs. Gibson, the Rev. C. E. Golland, the Rev. C. J. Gordon, Mr. T. H. B. Graham, the Rev. Bernard Hale, Dr. and Miss Haswell, Mrs. E. A. Heelis, Mr. J. R., Mrs. and Miss Highmoor, Mrs. and Miss Hodgson (Newby Grange), Mrs. Horrocks (Salkeld Hall), Sir Victor and Lady Horsley and party, the Rev. H. A. Hudson, Col. Edwin Jackson, Mrs. and Miss Jackson, the Rev. G. and Mrs. Jones, Mr. Kirkbride, Mrs. J. Kirkbride, the Rev. R. H. and Mrs. Law, Mr. W. J. Lawson, Mr. J. Lazonby, Mrs. Leybourn-Popham, the Rev. Canon Loftie, Mr. A. B. Lowry, Mr. J. H. and Mrs. Martindale, Dr. Mason, Miss Mason (Kirkby Stephen), Mrs. Metcalfe-Gibson, Miss Monnington, the Rev. Dr. Moor, Mr. Percy Musgrave, the Rev. R. V. and Miss Nanson, Miss M. Nicholson, the Misses

Noble, the Rev. R. W. Odell, Mrs. and Mr. F. Parker (Skirwith Abbey), Mr. H. Penfold, Mr. John Phillips (Manchester), the Rev. F. W. and Mrs. Ragg, Miss Raw, Mr. R. C. Reid, Mr. R. Morton Rigg, Mr. A. W. and Mrs. Rumney, Mr. C. W. Ruston-Harrison, Mr. D. and Mrs. Scott, Mr. John Sewell, Mr. T. W. Shaw and party (Lazonby Hall), Mr. J. Slack, the Rev. T. W. Stephenson, Mr. and Mrs. Heywood Thompson, Mr. W., Mr. R. and Miss Thompson (Inglewood), Mrs. and Miss Todd, the Rev. A. R. Tomlinson, Mr. and Miss Trubshaw, Miss A. M. Watson, Mr. J. Procter Watson, the Rev. J. Whiteside, Mr. Edward and Mrs. Wilson, Mr. J. S. Yeates.

At a Council meeting held on the evening preceding the general meeting the more important business transacted was as follows :—Colonel Jackson reported that the excavations at Papcastle had cost £20. Mr. J. F. Curwen reported that the Canterbury and York Society proposed completing the Registers of Bishop Halton, with index and an introduction by Professor Tout, at a cost to our Society of £50. Dr. Barnes reported that he had set in order and indexed, with the help of Mr. L. E. Hope, the contents of the Society's cabinet at Tullie House ; an offer from Mr. C. W. Dymond, F.S.A., of original plans from his surveys of Hardknot camp, megalithic circles, and other local antiquities, was accepted with thanks ; and rules for the use of the cabinet were adopted. (A catalogue of the articles in the cabinet and regulations for their use will be found later in this volume.)

The President, Chairman of Council, and Hon. Secretary were appointed as a sub-committee to deal with the question of providing an Index to the first twelve volumes of the New Series of *Transactions*. Mr. J. F. Curwen and Mr. J. Rawlinson Ford were appointed as a sub-committee to administer a grant not exceeding £8 for exploration of the ancient "camp" on Warton Crag. Mr. J. F. Curwen read a letter from Lord Leconfield kindly consenting to leave open the recent excavations at Egremont Castle, and to fence them round—the rest of the Castle grounds being formed into a public park. The care of overseeing and reporting upon these excavations was left in the hands of Mr. Curwen and Dr. C. A. Parker. Damage to Rey Cross on Stainmoor being reported, the Hon. Secretary was directed to communicate with the Yorkshire Archæological Society, which formerly joined with our Society in fencing the site, with a view to the better preservation of this relic. Dr. Haswell presented the first volume of the new Parish Register Series, and reported that there were 56 subscribers to the series as a

whole, and 86 copies of this volume, the Dacre Registers, had been taken.

On Thursday, September 5th, after stormy weather, the Society had a fortunate interval of sunshine for the excursions, broken only by a shower at Kirkoswald on the first day. The attendance was unusually large. At Voreda (old Penrith or Plumpton Wall camp) the Rev. J. Whiteside read Prof. Haverfield's paper (Art. XIX.), and at Deep Ghyll, Plumpton, Mr. Hunter exhibited urns, stone implements, and other relics from the neighbourhood. Kirkoswald church was described by the Rev. R. Duncan; and after an interval for luncheon, Dr. Haswell gave an account of the College and its owners, expressing also the thanks of the Society to Major and Mrs. Fetherstonhaugh for their kind reception of the visitors and permission to see through this interesting house. Kirkoswald Castle was described by Mr. T. H. B. Graham (see these *Transactions*, N.S., xii., 164-180); but the time lost in waiting for the rain to pass made it impossible to visit Salkeld dikes and to hear a paper prepared by Mr. Graham, which we hope to print later. The Rev. C. J. Gordon described Great Salkeld church, and Mr. and Mrs. Heywood-Thompson entertained the large party to tea at the village Hall, after which Mr. J. Scott exhibited the Luck of Burrell Green (Art. XI.). The Right Hon. the Speaker moved a vote of thanks to the Society's host and hostess and to the reader of the paper.

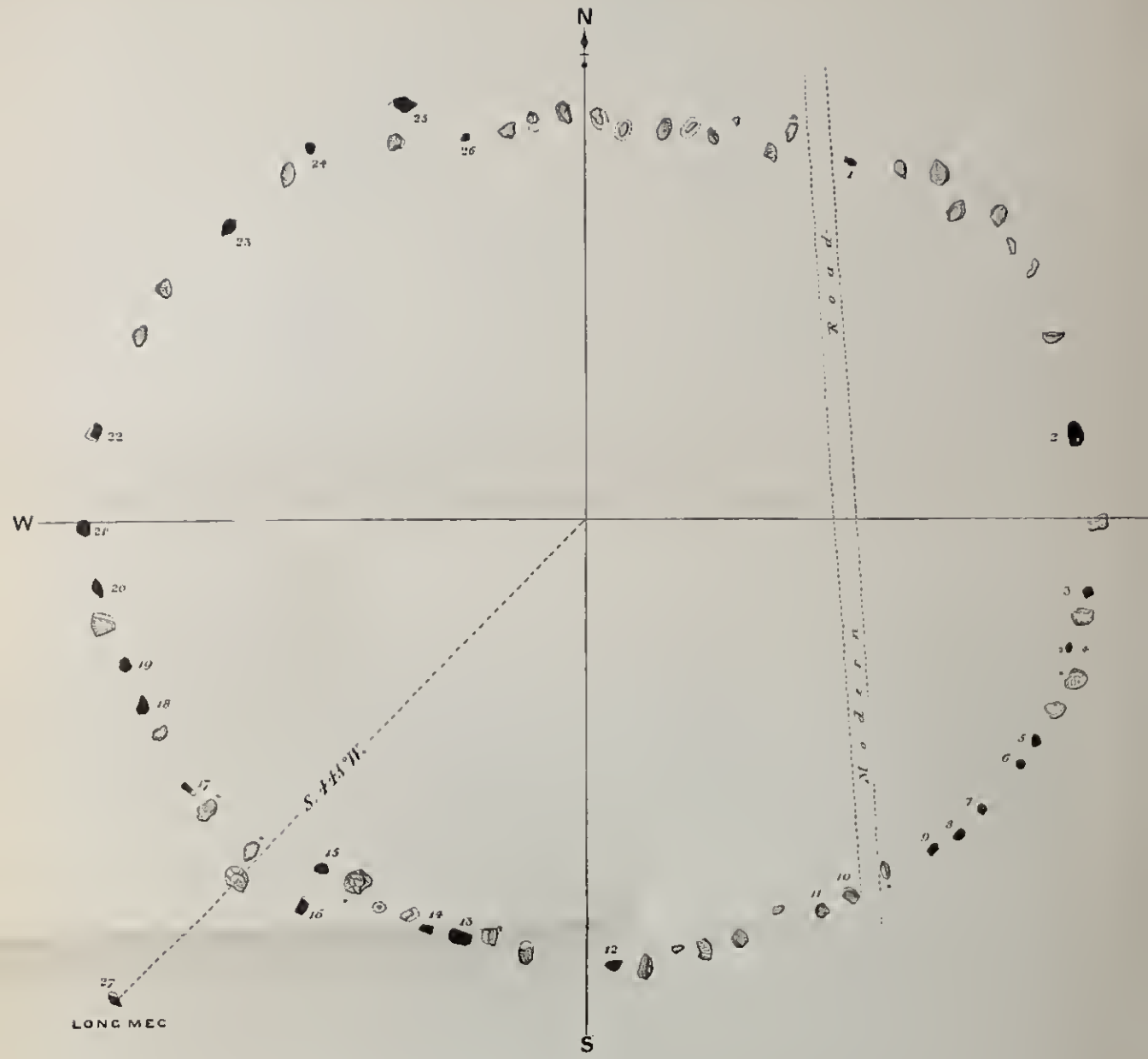
At the evening meeting, held at the George Hotel, Penrith, Dr. Barnes in the chair, the following new members were elected: —Mr. Humphrey Gilbert Machell, 41, York Terrace, Regents Park, London; Mrs. R. D. Holt, High Borrans, Windermere; Mr. C. H. Harrison, North Lodge, Cockermouth; The Rev. William Hornby, Stanwix Vicarage, Carlisle; Mr. Samuel Moore, Haverigg, Gosforth; Mrs. Sawrey-Cookson, Broughton Tower, Broughton-in-Furness; Mr. J. F. Fell, Daltongate Street, Ulverston; Mrs. Fetherstonhaugh, The College, Kirkoswald; the Rev. Ronald Symes, Kendal Vicarage; Mr. John Noble, 41, Northumberland Street, Workington; the Rev. C. J. Gudgeon, Penrith; the New England Historic Genealogical Society, 13, Somerset Street, Boston, Mass.; Sir Victor and Lady Horsley, 25, Cavendish Square, London, W.; Lady Borwick, Eden Lacy, Great Salkeld; Mr. John Ellison, Holme Wood, Cockermouth; Mr. Robert Slack, Derwent Hill, Keswick; Mrs. Horrocks, Salkeld Hall, Langwathby; Miss Makant, Old Fallbarrow, Windermere; the Rev. Arthur Senior Roberts, Tatham Rectory,

near Lancaster; Mr. J. Stanwell Birkett, Little Ellers, Keswick; the Rev. Bernard G. R. Hale, M.A., Edenhall Rectory.

Dr. Haswell then spoke of the position of the Parish Register Section, and made a strong appeal for the help required to carry on the work efficiently; and exhibited relics from Voreda—a minimus found 1907 outside the camp, pieces of Samian cut into counters, an object in pottery shaped like the head of a fish (which the Rev. F. W. Ragg considered to be a lamp), a millstone recently found, an inscribed stone, and an urn.

Mr. J. F. Curwen, Mr. T. H. B. Graham, and Dr. Haswell joined in a discussion on the moat of Kirkoswald Castle, the results of which we hope to give later. The following papers and exhibits were brought forward:—"Old Eden bridges," by the Rev. C. J. Gordon (Art. XVIII.); "An armorial panel at Penrith," by Mr. R. Morton Rigg (Art. XXVIII.); "The Caves known as Isis Parlis," by the Rev. A. J. Heelis (read by Mr. D. Scott, and to be printed in vol. xiv. after the results of excavation have been ascertained); "The Vicars of Kirkoswald," by Mr. T. Cann Hughes (Art. XXIX., read by the Editor); reports on excavations at Papcastle (Art. XIII.), on the Roman camp at Ambleside, and on the earthwork at Allen Knot (Art. XIV.), by Mr. R. G. Collingwood, read by the Editor, who also exhibited the photograph from Crosscanonby reproduced opposite p. 263 above.

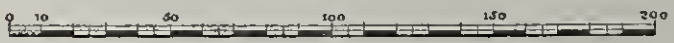
On Friday, September 6th, Mr. W. G. Collingwood described Long Meg and the Maughanby circle, of which plans are given from the surveys by our member Mr. C. W. Dymond, F.S.A., Hon. F.S.A.Scot. Addingham Church was described by the Rev. T. W. Stephenson and Mr. Collingwood (Art. XVII.), and after a walk to the Alabaster Works the remains of the old Eden bridge were pointed out by the Rev. C. J. Gordon. On returning to Little Salkeld a very kind invitation was given by Mrs. Horrocks to a cup of tea in the garden of Salkeld Hall; the time-table, however, forbade acceptance of this unexpected hospitality by all except a few of the party. Edenhall church was described by the Rev. Bernard Hale and Dr. Haswell (Art. XXI.), and Dr. Barnes returned the thanks of the Society to the Revs. T. W. Stephenson and Bernard Hale for their services on this occasion, and to the local committee whose programme had been so successfully carried out. There remained only the Giants' Caves or Isis Parlis, described overnight; these were visited by such members as were not obliged to leave early for Penrith Station, and after exploring the caves, the remnant of the party, on the



Diameters,

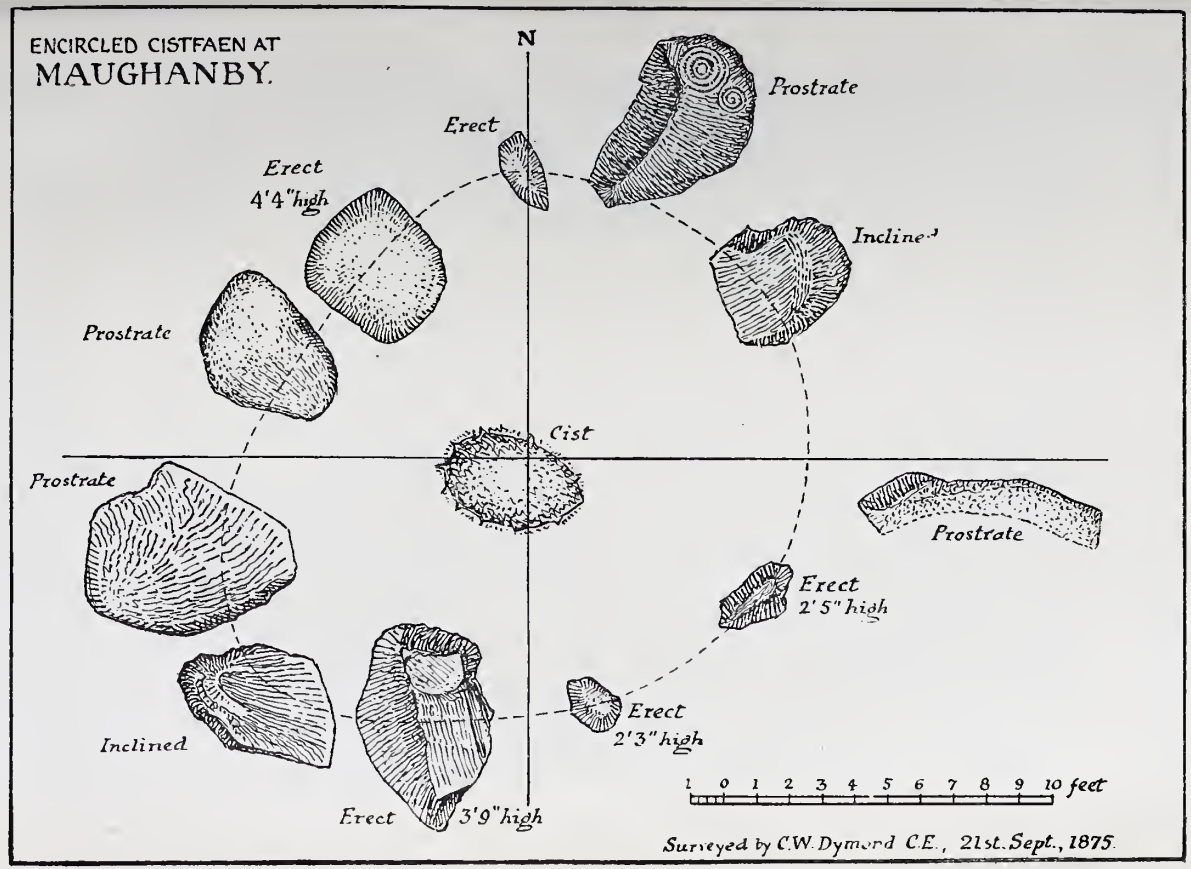
North and South, 305 feet: East and West, 360 feet.

SCALE OF FEET.



SCALE OF ORIGINAL PLAN, 1 INCH = 50 FEET.

TO FACE P. 406.


ENCIRCLED CISTFAEN AT
MAUGHANBY.
N
Prostrate
Erect
Erect
4'4" high
Inclined
Prostrate
Cist
Prostrate
Prostrate
Erect
2'5" high
Erect
2'3" high
Inclined
Erect
3'9" high
1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 feet
Surveyed by C.W. Dymond C.E., 21st. Sept., 1875.

kind invitation of Mrs. Siddle, found tea awaiting them at Honeypots Farm.

Spring Meeting.

On April 10th, 1913, the spring meeting was held at Tullie House, Carlisle. At a Council meeting in the morning, among other business, the invitation of the National Trust to explore the Roman Camp at Ambleside was accepted, and an Exploration Committee was appointed. A resolution was unanimously passed condemning the erection of a barbed-wire fence round the Keswick Circle. Delegates were named to represent the Society at work proposed to be carried out in relation to Carlisle and Penrith castles and the Bewcastle cross. The congratulations of the Council were offered to the Penrith Urban Council on the success of their efforts toward the preservation of Penrith Castle. It was reported that the freeholders of Bowes, as owners of Rey cross, declined to allow further interference with the monument. Regulations for the keeping and use of the Society's books at Tullie House were adopted, to the effect that an endeavour should be made to complete the sets of volumes, and that the Librarian of Tullie House should be appointed Honorary Librarian to the Society, present an annual report, and be empowered to receive books on the Society's behalf, giving receipts for books sent to him; the books to remain in the Reference Library under the same conditions as others in that collection. It was also agreed unanimously that, in view of the increasing number of members and their friends who join in excursions without taking seats in the Society's carriages, excursion tickets shall be issued at the price of 1/- to all who attend the summer and autumn meetings, and that persons without such tickets are not to be admitted to private houses, etc., visited by the Society.

At the afternoon meeting for reading papers, Chancellor Prescott in the chair, the following new members were elected :—The State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisc., U.S.A.; Mr. Jonathan Watson, South Moss, Lamplugh, Cockermouth; Mr. C. M. Lowther Bouch, 35, Edwardes Square, Kensington, London, W.; Mr. T. Carrick Watson, Plumtree Hall, Milnthorpe; The University Library, Aberdeen (P. C. Anderson); The Barrow Naturalists' Field Club (W. L. Page, Hon. Sec.), Cavendish Street, Barrow-in-Furness; Mrs. M. S. Baddeley, 2, Lake View Villas, Bowness-on-Windermere; The Rev. William Copeland, St. Stephen's Rectory, Carlisle; Miss

Gillibrand, Ellerwood, Bowness-on-Windermere; The Rev. George Fowke Maynard, Torpenhow Vicarage; Mr. N. N. Thompson, St. Bees; Miss Rooke, Mealsgate; Mr. William Bosward, Parr's Bank, Penrith.

The following papers were read:—"The old Postern Door at Carlisle Castle," by Mr. J. H. Martindale; "The Notebook of William Thompson of Thornflatt, J.P. for Cumberland during the Commonwealth," by Mr. P. H. Fox; "Recent opinion on the Bewcastle Cross," by Mr. W. G. Collingwood; "Reports on the excavation of a Bloomery at Lindal in Cartmel and a Cave at Haverbrack," by Mr. J. Wilfrid Jackson, read by Mr. J. F. Curwen, who also exhibited a cast of the inscription at Harbybrow which has hitherto puzzled decipherers, but is now explained by Mr. Curwen. The following papers were also submitted:—"Calendar of the original deeds at Tullie House: I. Latin," by the Rev. James Wilson; "Shap and Rosgill, and some of the early owners," by the Rev. F. W. Ragg; "The Debatable Land, part II.," and "The Manor of Crosby," by Mr. T. H. B. Graham; "The Cumberland Yeoman in Past Times," by Mr. Francis Grainger; and "Neolithic Implements in Furness," by Mr. John Dobson. The inclusion in this volume of the lengthy but valuable reports of explorations on the Roman wall makes it necessary to defer the printing of these articles, which we hope to give in vol. xiv., except one which, as it deals with a subject now in debate, is here printed in abstract.

Recent Opinion on the Bewcastle Cross.

It would hardly be right, at a meeting of this Society, to neglect the controversy on the age of the Bewcastle Cross. In the *Burlington Magazine* for April, 1912, Commendatore G. T. Rivoira made it twelfth century; in the same magazine for June, 1912, Prof. Lethaby gave reasons for an early date to Ruthwell cross: in December, Prof. Albert S. Cook published an

Transactions, N.S. xiii., p. 409, line 33; *for* "1150 or later," *read* "about 1150."

TO FACE P. 408.

[illegible] eleventh and twelfth century ornament abroad. Into the general question I will not enter here, but only take Prof. Cook's points relating to our Cumberland cross at Bewcastle and discuss them very briefly.

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(1) The older runes (p. 242) he regards as survivals or intentional archaisms, like the lettering on some Greek and Roman monuments. I do not know

what evidence we have of a twelfth century "Pre-Rafaelitism" or movement for reviving forms then antiquated. In the Bridekirk font we have twelfth century runes; on the Franks casket and on some coins we have runes several hundred years older; and the Bewcastle runes are of the earlier type, even if they cannot all be matched in the seventh century.

(2) "Gessus" for "Jesus" (p. 249) Prof. Cook thinks late, because in Denmark the name is found with initial G in the thirteenth century. But I am not convinced that G for J is impossible at an early date, because any first attempts at spelling—and this must be one of the first if it dates 670-80—must have been tentative; and we find proper names very variously spelt on the crosses. Is it possible that the unvoiced G (cf. Swegen for Sveinn) was an attempt to represent the consonant I (our modern Y, not our soft G)?

(3) "Æft," like "æfter" at Collingham, Dewsbury, etc., "in memory of," is not found in Anglo-Saxon literature, but "aftir" is so found on Manx crosses (1050-1100). Therefore, Prof. Cook infers (p. 250), the A.-S. *æft* or *æfter* was imitated from the O.N. *aftir*. Is there, however, any instance of "after" (or *eptir* as the word is spelt in book Icelandic) in this sense in the Edda or early sagas? Is it not a purely lapidary use, like the "D.M.S." of "V.S.L.M." of Roman stones, for which we do not expect to find parallels in Virgil and Livy? The inference I am tempted to draw is that the Vikings, whom I believe to have imitated their crosses from English models, took this lapidary form of "after" from them as well.

(4) "Alcfrithu" (p. 254) is feminine, and cannot mean king Alcfrith; Prof. Cook suggests a lady Alcfritha, of Norse origin. But I cannot find such a name in Norse, nor in the very considerable lists of names we know as used in Northumbria and Cumbria in the twelfth century. These names are Norman, Celtic or Danish; very few indeed of the early Anglo-Saxon names survived to 1150, and a lady Alcfritha at Bewcastle in that period is hardly possible. May I risk a suggestion? The *th* and *u* are tied, or written as a monogram; the name may be read "Alcfriuth." May this, on the analogy of the Irish "Sitriuc" for "Sihtric," be an early spelling, under the Irish influence which up to the time had directed all learning in Northumbria?

(5) "Cynnburug" (p. 255) or rather "cynn" and "burug" separately, Prof. Cook shows to be tenth century. But Vietor read "Cyniburug" and Baldwin Brown reads "Cyniburyg." The runic I becomes N by a slight transverse notch, and no photograph or cast can tell whether that notch is original. If it is "Cyni—" it is an early form. As to "burug" or buryg," Anglian stones constantly insert a vowel between consonants, as in "berehct" for "berht." And Cynnburug also is not a twelfth century name.

(6) The head (p. 334) as described by Dr. James Wilson is discussed. Prof. Cook does not think that the lost fragment belonged to the shaft, and finds me in error in estimating the original height of the whole as about 21 feet. But the lost fragment could never have been the complete head, but only part of an arm; and to restore the monument we must allow for loss to complete the shaft, and a head in proportion, like the heads at Lastingham and Dewsbury, which were of considerable size.

(7) The Christ, he says (p. 268), "can hardly have been created in monumental sculpture before the twelfth century." But the figure on St. Cuthbert's coffin has the same motive, and differs only in the rudeness of drawing which comes from incising an outline on a plank, more difficult than cutting one in relief on a stone. Still earlier figures of Christ in glory are on the Murano gospel-cover (sixth or seventh century) and the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus (A.D. 350).

(8) The Falconer, he thinks (p. 275), cannot be early because hawks are first mentioned in English literature between 732 and 751. "In such a sequestered part of the country" they could not have been known in 670. But Prof. Cook agrees with me in considering the figure as the portrait of a great personage. Now Northumbria was not, as a whole, "sequestered" in the seventh century; if hawks were known in Northern Europe, a Northumbrian prince would be one of the first to attempt falconry. There was no literature at the time, and the absence of literary mention does not carry much weight. *Beowulf*, of which the subject-matter is much earlier, mentions hawking; but this perhaps may be an addition of the eighth century.

(9) Vine-scrolls (p. 283) "may be found in practically any century from the second to the fifteenth"; and so do not prove period. But as one who has copied much twelfth century ornament in France and Italy, I see great differences between these scrolls and the Continental types. I have tried to show elsewhere (the *Antiquary*, May, 1913) that one example of Northumbrian scrollwork is eighth century; and Mr. Thurlow Leeds has shown that the Ormside Cup with its bird and beast scrolls was patched about 900 A.D., and therefore it is earlier (Liverpool *Annals of Archæology*, etc., 1911). We have, at any rate, some examples of scrolls, closely analogous to the Bewcastle Cross, from the Anglian period.

(10) Chiselling (p. 297), Prof. Cook says, on the authority of Parker's *Introduction*, came into use later than the seventh century. I do not know how this is proved. If the earliest church-builders brought masons from abroad, they must have known the use of the chisel in the traditional Roman way; and the fragments at Monkwearmouth and Jarrow seem to support this.

(11) Chequers, he says (p. 296), began in the eleventh century; and he will not allow the parallel of the Irton Cross, which I proposed; or if so, then the Irton Cross is twelfth century. The *ambo* at Grado is, however, dated by Cattaneo (fig. 48) to the eighth century, and if that be true, then the motive was possible in the Anglian period.

(12) Interlacing (p. 298) he regards as impossible until knotwork was developed in Irish MSS. I cannot accept this view in the face of the evolution of the pre-Christian fibula (*Archæologia*, 63), the early coins with plaits upon them, and the Ormside Cup.

(13) The sundial (p. 301) Prof. Cook cannot date before the eleventh century, to range with the Kirkdale dial, etc. But see Forrer, *Reallexikon*, under "Sonnenuhr" for Roman *solaria* in the third century and in Gaul; and in the Chesters Museum, No. 131 (Catalogue, p. 198), is a sundial from Housesteads, certainly Roman, and so like this one at Bewcastle that it might have been the model from which the Anglian dial was copied.

(14) This concludes the direct criticism of the Bewcastle Cross; with the Ruthwell Cross I am not dealing. The rest of the essay is occupied with Prof. Cook's theory that both monuments were set up about 1150 by monkish artists under King David I. Much might be said of the historical difficulties of this theory, but one point especially needs explanation. If the monks made such crosses at outlying churches, why did they not leave any trace of the style at their homes—the abbeys of Northumbria? At Carlisle, where they built the crosses of the Anglian priory into the Norman cathedral, we find such relics; there is, however, no trace of such carvings at Holme Cultram, Furness, Lanercost, Rievaulx, and all the twelfth century foundations, while at the country churches of Northern England they can be counted in hundreds.

ADDENDA ANTIQUARIA.

We have to congratulate our member, Canon Rawnsley, on the addition to the properties held by the National Trust of two important historic sites :—The Borrans field at Ambleside, containing a Roman camp, and the field on Castlerigg, Keswick, with the famous megalithic circle known as the Carles. To this Society has been offered by the National Trust the responsibility of excavating the Ambleside Camp, and it is hoped that a beginning will be made during the summer of 1913.

Roman Stones from Kirkandrews-on-Eden.

The Roman altar and other sculptured stones, formerly in possession of the late Mrs. Norman, of Kirkandrews-on-Eden, have been purchased by the Earl of Lonsdale, and are now at Lowther Castle. The altar is described in *Lapidarium Septentrionale*, No. 508 ; it records the successes of a Roman legate "trans vallum." Other stones from Kirkandrews, also now removed to Lowther, are described and figured in these *Transactions*, N.S., V., pp. 210-212.

Cross-head at Urswick.

During recent stripping of the roughcast from the tower and body of Urswick Church, the Rev. T. N. Postlethwaite, M.A., Vicar, found part of a cross-head built into the north wall towards the top of the second of three stages in which the wall has been constructed. The fragment shows two lateral arms of a cross, with four holes sunk (but not piercing the stone) and no ornament. It is 4 inches thick, and 14 inches across the two arms, each of which would have been 10 inches broad at the ends, forming an outline like that of cross C at Gosforth (Calverley, *Crosses*, opposite p. 170) called the Resting Cross in Dr. Parker's article in these *Transactions*, N.S., IX., fig. 5, and p. 87. This is no doubt post-Conquest, but from its position in the walling it must be of early date.

Aikton Church Bell (p. 275).

Mrs. T. Hesketh Hodgson enquires whether the I, supposed to be an error for K, in "IRISTI," may not have been intended

for † ; and quotes the analogy of the stone near Kirkby Ireleth (these *Transactions*, o.s., xiii., opposite p. 279), in which Christopher Kirkby's initials are represented by †oK, that is to say, by a Latin cross instead of the usual X (chi). We believe that it was Mrs. Hodgson who first pointed out this curious use of † for X at our meeting of June 18th, 1894, when the Kirkby stone was visited.

Stone Implement from Torver.

In the possession of the Rev. R. D. Ellwood, Rector of Torver, is a stone found by Mr. Thomas Dickinson of Crook, Torver, in a dyke near Low Torver Park. It is of red (Permian) sandstone, probably from Low Furness, weight 13 oz., size $4\frac{1}{4}$ by $3\frac{1}{2}$ by $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches; originally a naturally cleaved "tile" of stone, now much worn, and perforated with a hole central to the longer sides but having its margin 1 inch from one of the shorter sides. The hole is $\frac{3}{4}$ inch at the surface on both faces, tapering to $\frac{3}{8}$ inch in the centre; the two openings are not opposite, and the hole is carelessly made, not bored with a revolving tool, but apparently scraped out with a knife. This suggests that the stone is not very ancient; it may have been a waller's plumb.

Corrigenda.

Page 63, line 30; *for* charged *read* changed.

Page 64, line 14; *for* Bishop *read* Abbot.

Page 116, line 13; *for* 1315 *read* 1305.

Page 203, line 15; *for* two or three *read* several; *and add note* :—The family de Karliolo claimed land in Hayton in 1292 (Assize Roll 134).

Page 236, line 7; *for* 1506 *read* 1406.

Page 253, line 30; *for* mention *read* mentions.

The Society's Books, etc., at Tullie House.

By the kindness of Dr. Barnes, the Society's Cabinet at Tullie House has now been set in order, and the following catalogue compiled for the use of members. The Librarian at Tullie House (Carlisle Public Library) has also done us the great service of making out the lists appended of the Society's exchanges and other antiquarian reports housed in the Reference Library; these volumes can be consulted on application to the Librarian. It is hoped that the sets may be completed through the efforts of Council and the help of members willing to contribute for the purpose.

List of Documents, Diagrams, Maps, Plans, etc., belonging to the Society now preserved in the drawers of a Cabinet in the Custody of the Curator of the Tullie House Museum, Carlisle.

DRAWER No. I.

1.—Plans of Remains found during the demolition of the old brick building at Tullie House in 1892 for the erection of the present new wing. See *Transactions*, O.S., xii., 349.

2.—Old plan of Carlisle with a prospect of Carlisle towards the north. (Jac. Richards fecit, 1684-5.)

3.—Plan of Whitehaven in six sheets, 10.56 feet to 1 mile.

4.—Map of Torpenhow parish, 25.344 in. to 1 mile.

5.—Plan of Earthworks at Arthuret by Mr. and Mrs. T. H. Hodgson. See *Transactions*, N.S., viii., 236.

6 and 7.—Plan of lands houlden under the Free Grammar School of St. Bees, and rough copy of same.

8.—Map of British Isles, by W. and A. K. Johnston, Edinburgh, no date.

9.—Two Ordnance Maps of Shap District, 1863—mutilated.

10.—Five Diagrams illustrating Leslie's Siege of Carlisle, by Chancellor Ferguson. See *Transactions*, O.S., xi., 102.

11.—Plan of the Maiden Way from Birdoswald to the Scottish Border, by the Rev. J. Maughan, Rector of Bewcastle.

12.—Ordnance Map of part of North Wales, 1840, 1 in. to 1 mile.

13.—Six Archæological Maps of Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire North of the Sands, showing pre-Roman, Roman and post-Roman Remains; three annotated in Chancellor Ferguson's handwriting as to Castles, Churches, Beacons, and Battles.

14.—Six Ordnance Maps of South of Scotland, 1897, showing Liddlesdale route, annotated by Chancellor Ferguson.

15.—Rubbings of Brass in Edenhall Church: "Willms Stapylton et ejus uxor." See *Transactions*, O.S., xiii., 142.

16.—Rubbings of gravestone in Castle Carrock Church: "Johes de Beth o Crick" [Begho Kirk].

17.—Pedigree of the family of Fetherstonhaugh of Fetherstonhaugh Castle in the County of Northumberland, and of Kirkoswald in the County of Cumberland.

18.—Ordnance Map, 1865, of part of Stanwix, and Crosby parishes.

19.—Nine Plans of Mayburgh and King Arthur's Round Table, by C. W. Dymond, 1889. See *Transactions*, O.S., xi., 187.

20.—Map to illustrate "Grey Yauds," by T. H. B. Graham, Esq. See *Transactions*, N.S., vii., 67.

21.—Ground Plan of Castle Acre Priory, Norfolk, by W. H. St. John Hope M.A.

22.—Four Ordnance Maps, 1863, of Westmorland Lake District.

23.—Two Ordnance Maps, 1865-1866, of Cockermouth and Bridekirk Parishes.

DRAWER No. II.

24A.—Plans illustrating Roman Wall Excavations, by Mr. and Mrs. T. H. Hodgson, Nos. 9 and 30.

24B.— Do. do. Nos. 5, 7, 10, 25, 26, 33.

24C.— Do. do. Remaining 52 plans.

See *Transactions*, O.S., xiii., 453; O.S., xiv., 185, 244, 390, 408, 413; O.S., xv., 172, 191, 201, 337, 345, 365; O.S., xvi., 80; N.S., i., 75; N.S., ii., 384; N.S., iii., 328; N.S., iv., 339.

25.—Roman Wall Excavations, 1894-1903; MS. Notes on the Plans, by Mrs. T. H. Hodgson.

26.—Ordnance Map, 1874, showing the course of the Roman Wall at Stanwix and Carlisle as traced by Excavations in 1886. See *Transactions*, o.s., ix., 168.

27.—Rubbings of Roman Inscriptions at Coombe Crags, 1856.

28A.—Plan of Roman Wall Excavations by the City Surveyor of Carlisle, E. B. Newton, Esq. A. Gilsland Section.

28B.— B. White Moss Section.

28C.— C. Bleatarn Section.

28D.— D. Brunstock Park Section.

29.—Drawings presented to the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society by C. W. Dymond, Esq., F.S.A. :—

(1) Plan of the Position of the Roman Station on Hardknott, Cumberland.
(2) Plan of the Roman Castrum on Hardknott.
(3) Plan of the Outbuildings of ditto.
(4) Plan of the Gateways and details of Stones, ditto.
(5) Examples of Walling, Hardknott Castrum.
(6) Sketch Plans and Sections, to large scale, with dimensions, of portions of the Castrum on Hardknott.
(7) Sketch Plan, to large scale, with dimensions, of the Outbuildings of ditto.
(8) Plan of Barnscar, an ancient settlement on Birker Fell, Cumberland.
(9) Plan of an Ancient Village near Threlkeld, Cumberland.
(10) Plan of the Homesteads at ditto.
(11) Plan of the Ruins of an Ancient Village in the Parish of Hugill, Westmorland.
(12) Plan of an Ancient Entrenched Village in the Parish of Yanwath and Eamont Bridge, Westmorland.
(13) Plan of Ancient Remains on Gornal Ground, near Broughton, Cumberland.
(14) Plans and Sections of "Mayburgh," Eamont Bridge, Westmorland.
(15) Plans and Sections of an Ancient Earthwork called "King Arthur's Round Table," at Eamont Bridge, Westmorland.
(16) Plan and Sections of an Ancient Earthwork at Little Asby, Westmorland.
(17) Sketch-plan of the "Giants Graves," Burnbanks, Haweswater, Westmorland.
(18) Plan of "Long Meg and her Daughters," near Maughanby, Cumberland, with sketch of "Long Meg."
(19) Plan and View of a Stone-circle near Keswick, Cumberland.
(20) Plan of a Stone-circle, called "Sunken Kirk," at Swinside, near Broughton, Cumberland.
(21) Plan of ditto, showing Exploration-trenches.
(22) Plan and View of a Compound Stone Sepulchral circle at Gunnerkeld, near Shap, Westmorland.
(23) Plan of Sepulchral Circle on Eskdale Moor, Cumberland.
(24) Large Scale Plan, dimensioned, of an Encircled Cist, at Maughanby, Cumberland.
(25) Cup markings on a Stone on Burley Moor, Yorkshire.
(26) Swinside Circle, with dimensions.

Also the MS. Journal of Explorations at Hardknott Camp, June and July, 1892.

DRAWER No. III.

30.—Plan of Cockermouth to Workington Railway, 1844, George Stephenson and John Dixon, Engineers.

31.—Plan of proposed Railway from Clifton Collieries to Workington Harbour, 1856-57, Thomas Drane, Engineer.

32.—Thirteen Ordnance Maps of St. Bees Parish, 1863.

33.—Lecture Diagrams by Chancellor Ferguson :—A. Potsherds ; B. Bronze Implements ; C. Coins.

38.—"The fatal Nuptiall or Mournefull Marriage. An account of a Ferry accident at Windermere on October 19th, 1635" ; a transcript from the rare volume in the Bodleian Library presented by Chas. Hughes (see *Transactions*, N.S., xiii., Art. XV.).

DRAWER No. IV.

34.—Transcript of the Chartulary of Holme Cultram in three Sections (12th November, 1896, James Wilson).

35.—Chancellor Ferguson's Antiquarian Scrap Books.

36.—A Sketch of the Architectural Antiquities of Cumberland, by Wm. Ford, B.A. (MS.) ; Cumwhitton, Carlisle, December 1st, 1837.

37.—Portrait of Edward Tyson, Esq.

N.B.—The Council decided that any member of the Society desirous of inspecting any of the above-named documents or plans may do so on application to the Curator of the Tullie House Museum in whose custody they are placed, but no document or plan can be removed from the Cabinet except on the written authority of the President or Chairman of Council, and a register of such removal with the name of the member and date shall be noted in a book kept for the purpose. A card index of the contents of the Cabinet will be found in one of the drawers.

REPORTS OF SOCIETIES BELONGING TO THE CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORLAND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY HOUSED IN REFERENCE LIBRARY, CARLISLE.

The Derbyshire Archæological and Natural History Society :—Vols. 1-19 (1879-1897), vol. 20 missing (1898), vols. 21-35 (1899-1913).

The British School at Rome :—Vols. 2-5 (1904-1910).

The Cambrian Archæological Association :—1891 incomplete, 1892-1897, 1898 incomplete, 1899-1901, 1902 incomplete, 1903-1908.

The East Riding Antiquarian Association :—Vol. 2 (1894), vols. xvi.-xvii. (1909-1910).

The Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire :—1st Series, vols. 1-36 (1849-1887), wanting vol. 33 ; New Series, 1-18 (1888-1902) ; 19-20 missing (1903-1904) ; 21-27 (1905-1911).

The Kent Archæological Society :—Vols. xi.-xxix. (1877-1911).

The Dumfries and Galloway Antiquarian Society :—Vol. 17, pts. 1 and 2 (1905) ; vols. 23-24 (1911-1912).

The Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society :—Vols. 1-21 (1883-1903), 25-26 (1907-1908), 28-29 (1910-11).

The Shropshire Archæological Society :—Vol. 6 (1883) ; vols. 7-9 imperfect ; vols. 10-11 (1887-1888) ; New Series, vol. 1 imperfect (1888-9) ; vols. 2-12 (1899-1900) ; 3rd Series, vols. 1-11 (1901-1911).

The Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne :—2nd Series, vols. 1-25 (1857-1904) ; 3rd Series, vols. 1-8 (1905-1912).

The Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society :—Vols. 54-57 (1909-1912).

The Thoresby Society, Leeds :—Vols. 1-18 (1891-1911).

The Yorkshire Archæological Society :—1891 incomplete, 1901 incomplete, vols. 17-20 (1903-1909), vol. 21 incomplete.

Cambridge Antiquarian Society :—Proceedings No. 44 (1904), Nos. 46-63 (1906-1912). Octavo pub., 35, 40-42, 44.

East Herts Archæological Society :—Vol. 1, pt. 3 missing ; vol. 2 ; vol. 3, pts. 2-3 missing (1899-1905).

Mémoires des Antiquaires du Nord :—1890 missing ; 1891-1897 ; 1898 missing ; 1899-1901 ; 1902 missing ; 1903-1904 ; 1905 and 1906 missing ; 1907-1912.

Stockholm Kungl : . . . Akadämiens Maanadsblad :—1887-1905, wanting after 1905.

Nordiska Museet Fataburen :—1906 ; 1907 missing ; 1908-1912.

Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher :—1891-1896 ; 1897 inc. ; 1898 ; 1899 inc. ; 1900 inc. ; 1901-3 missing ; 1904 inc. ; 1905 inc. ; 1906-7 missing ; 1908 ; 1909 missing ; 1910-12.

Samfundet för Nordiska Museets :—1893-1898 ; wanting after 1898.

Meddelanden fraan Nordiska Museets :—1897-1900 ; 1902-3 ; wanting after 1903.

Antiqvarisk Tidskrift för Sverige :—Vols. 13-18 (1894-1909).

Associated Architectural Societies Reports :—Pt. 2, vol. 22 (1894) ; pt. 2, vol. 24 (1898) ; pt. 1, vol. 25 (1899) ; vol. 27 (1903-4) ; pt. 2, vol. 28 (1906) ; vol. 29 (1907-8) ; pt. 1, vol. 30 (1909) ; pt. 1, vol. 31 (1911).

Lancashire Parish Register Society :—Vols. 3-43 (1899-1911).

Archæological (Society's) Journal :—Vols. 6-7 (1849-50) ; 8 inc. ; Vols. 9-15 (1852-58) ; 16 inc. ; vols. 17-25 (1860-1868) ; vols. 26-7 (1869-1870) missing ; 28 inc. ; vol. 29 (1873) ; vol. 30 (1874) inc. ; vols. 31-38 (1874-1881) ; 39 inc. ; vol. 40 (1883) ; 41 inc. ; 42 inc. ; 43 inc. ; vols. 44-46 (1887-1889) ; 47 inc. ; 48 inc. ; 49 inc. ; 50 inc. ; 51 inc. ; vols. 52-54 (1895-1897) ; vol. 55 (1898) inc.

Fornvännen Meddelanden fraan K. Vitterhets . . . Akademien, 1906-8 ; wanting after 1908.

Hawick Archæological Society, Transactions, 1912.

Reports of Societies belonging to the Carlisle Public Library housed in Reference Library, Carlisle.

Publications of the Camden Society :—1839-1912 in progress.

Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society :—Vol. 1 (1866) inc. ; vols. 2-16 ; New Series, 1-12 (1912) in progress.

Harleian Society's Publications : Visitations and pedigrees :—Various years, 1874-1892 ; 1899-1912 in progress.

Register Section :—1877-1881 ; 1883 ; 1886 ; 1888 ; 1896 ; 1897.

Publications of the Pipe Roll Society :—Vols. 1-27 (1884-1906).

Transactions of the Royal Historical Society :—Vols. 1-10 (1873-1882) ; New Series, vol. 1 (1883) ; vol. 2 (1884) inc. ; vols. 3-20 (1886-1906) ; 3rd Series, vols. 1-6 (1907-1912).

Reports of the Historical MSS. Commission.

Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland :—1874-1901, 1888-9 missing.

Publications of the Surtees Society :—Vols. 5-22 (1837-1850) ; vols. 23-43 missing ; vols. 44, 46, 49-51, 58, 68, 90 (1892) to 121 (1912) in progress.

Monographs of the Palaeontographical Society :—27 vols. In progress.

Transactions of the Cumberland Association for the Advancement of Literature and Science :—1875-1892 : all published.

Journal of the British Archæological Association :—1867-70 ; 1871 inc. ; 1872 inc. ; 1873-1880 ; 1881 inc. ; 1882-1883 ; 1884 inc. ; 1885-1887 ; 1888 inc. ; 1889-90 ; 1891 inc. ; 1892 inc. ; 1893 inc. ; 1894-6 ; 1897 inc. ; 1898 inc. ; wanting after 1898.

Archæologia, vols. 48-55 (1885-1897).

Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London :—Vol. 2 inc. ; 3-6 (1865-76) ; 7 inc. ; 8 inc. ; 9 inc. ; 10-11 (1884-7) ; 12 inc. ; 13 (1889-91) ; 14 inc. ; 15 (1893-5) ; 16 inc.

Ayrshire and Wigtownshire Archæological Association :—1883, 1889, 1890-1, 1894, 1895, 1899.

Early English Text Society :—1907-12, in progress.

Viking Club :—1907-12, in progress.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE YEAR.

"The Chronicle of Lanercost, 1272-1346," translated, with notes, by the Right Hon. Sir Herbert Maxwell, Bart. (Glasgow, Maclehose; London, Macmillan; 4to, pp. xxxi., 357, with illustrations; 21s.; special edition, 42s.). A handsome contribution to Cumberland history, by our honorary member, and including a chapter on the authorship of the Chronicle by the Rev. James Wilson, Litt.D., a vice-president of our Society.

"Rose Castle, the residential seat of the Bishop of Carlisle," by the Rev. James Wilson, B.D., Litt.D., Vicar of Dalston and Honorary Chaplain of the Bishop of Carlisle (Carlisle, Thurnam, 1912; pp. ix., 258, index and 15 illustrations). The story of Rose has at last been told with fulness of detail and with competent scholarship, which will make this volume a standard work. What is perhaps even more, because it is not always to be expected in a book of this kind, the dry bones of local history are clothed with so much of literary art that these chapters are eminently readable. In the last chapter Dr. Wilson gives an account of the Bishop's Dyke, to which reference has been made above, p. 25. An appendix of illustrative documents is not the least valuable part of the volume.

"An Augustinian Cathedral—Carlisle," by the Rev. James Wilson, Litt.D. (Aberdeen, Jolly, 1912; pp. 17; reprinted from the *Transactions* of the Ecclesiological Society). A highly interesting sketch of the missionary methods of the twelfth century in Cumberland.

"The Foundation of Nostell and Scone" (Scottish Historical Review, January, 1913) and "Original Charters of the Abbey of Cupar" (*ibid.*, April, 1913) are contributions to early monastic history, by the Rev. Dr. Wilson.

"The Lord Wardens of the Marches of England and Scotland, being a brief history of the Marches, the Laws of March, and the Marchmen, together with some account of the ancient feud between England and Scotland," by Howard Pease, M.A., F.S.A. (Constable, 1912; 10s. 6d.). A new border history by a member of our Society.

"Cumberland Lay Subsidy: being an account of a fifteenth and tenth collected 6th Edward III.;" edited by Colonel J. P. Steel, F.R.G.S. (Kendal, T. Wilson, 1912; 3s. 6d.; pp. ix., 71, index). Practically the directory of Cumberland for 1333, and full of curious matter for the student of old personal names and the social economy of the period.

"The Romanization of Roman Britain," by F. Haverfield (2nd ed., Clarendon Press, 1912). Professor Haverfield's erudition, and his grasp of the general aspects of a complicated subject, make this little volume fascinating to students of the Roman period and the dark age following it, of which he treats in his chapter on the Celtic revival in the late Empire. The illustrations, well chosen, add greatly to the charm of the book in the eyes of a non-specialist.

"The Roman Camp at Ambleside," by W. G. Collingwood (a lecture printed at the request of the Ambleside Committee for assisting the National Trust in the purchase of the Borrans field; Ambleside, Middleton, 1912). Soon, we hope, to be superseded by the exploration undertaken by this Society.

"Westmorland Agriculture, 1800–1900," by Frank W. Garnett, M.R.C.V.S. (Kendal, T. Wilson, 1912; sm. 4to, pp. 350, with coloured maps and 60 collotype illustrations; 30s.). An important study, in some cases reaching back before 1800, of the social condition, land tenure and country-side history of the North of England.

"The Registers of the Parish Church of Dacre, Cumberland, 1559-1716," transcribed by Henry Brierley (Kendal, T. Wilson; 21s.).

"The Registers of the Parish Church of Torver, near Coniston; 1599-1792," and "The Registers of the Parish Church of Kirkby-in-Furness, baptisms 1701-1812, burials 1681-1812, marriages 1728-1754," transcribed by Henry Brierley (Rochdale, James Clegg; vol. 43 of the Lancashire Parish Register Society; pp. 118, 143, indexes; 10s.).

"Cumberland Parish Registers, Marriages;" edited by W. P. W. Phillimore, M.A., B.C.L., and C. W. Ruston-Harrison. Vol. II., containing Stanwix, 1662-1837, transcribed by Mr. Ruston-Harrison; Crosby-on-Eden, 1665-1837, transcribed by Mr. T. H. Hodgson, F.S.A.; Harrington, 1652-1837, transcribed by Miss Patricia Curwen; and Gosforth, 1571-1837, transcribed by Dr. C. A. Parker (London, Phillimore, 1912; pp. 157; to be had from Mr. T. Wilson, Kendal, by members of this Society at 10/6).

"Extracts from State Papers relating to Friends; third series, 1664-1669;" edited by Norman Penney, F.S.A. (Friends' Historical Society, Journal Supplement No. 10; 4s. 6d.; pp. 75 and index). With much information concerning our district, especially Westmorland and Furness.

"Barrow Naturalists' Field Club; Annual Reports;" vol. xix. (edited by Paul V. Kelly), 1912; pp. 158, with illustrations and index; and containing historical articles by the late Harper Gaythorpe, Mr. W. B. Kendall, and the Rev. T. N. Postlethwaite.

"A Masque of King Dunmail, as it has been first designed, and shall be presented, by members of the Keswick School, May, 1912;" by T. E. Casson (Keswick, T. Bakewell; 6d.). A romantic treatment of the legend, introducing a Druid and his ritual, with a hint at human sacrifices.

"The date of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses," by Albert S. Cook, professor of the English Language and Literature in Yale University (Connecticut Academy, December, 1912; vol. 17, pp. 213-361). In this elaborate study of the monuments, very finely illustrated, Prof. Cook states his theory that the "Crosses" were erected about or after the middle of the twelfth century.

"The Bewcastle and Ruthwell Crosses," I. by G. Baldwin Brown, II. by W. R. Lethaby (The Burlington Magazine, April, 1913). Articles by Prof. Baldwin Brown and Prof. Lethaby in criticism of Prof. Cook's views.

"On a Group of Northumbrian Crosses," by W. G. Collingwood, M.A., F.S.A. (*The Antiquary*, May, 1913). In this article the editor of these *Transactions* gives reasons for dating a series of "Anglian" monuments from the eighth to the tenth century.

"Report on some Human Remains from Hyning in Westmorland," by B. W. L. H. Duckworth, M.D., Sc.D., M.A. "Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society." Tenth volume of the New Series.

"Notes on the Ancient Family of Musgrave of Musgrave, Westmorland," and its various Branches in Cumberland, Yorkshire, Northumberland, Somersetshire, etc. Compiled mainly from original sources by Percy Musgrave. Printed for private circulation only.

In Memoriam.

Mr. Henry Howard Batten, J.P., of Acorn Bank, who died on July 23rd, 1912, was born at Penzance in 1847 and educated at Tonbridge School. He was called to the Bar but spent the chief part of his life in the Civil Service, becoming clerk to the London City Parochial Foundation. On retirement he settled in Westmorland, where he soon became valued and respected as a magistrate, a member of the Eden Fishery Board, and president of the local Agricultural Society. He joined our Society in 1908 when we visited Acorn Bank, and read a paper on the history of his house, printed in these *Transactions*, N.S., ix. His last appearance among us was on the occasion of the excursion in June, 1912, to Holme Cultram, shortly after which he had the apoplectic seizure from which he never recovered.

The very Rev. George William Kitchin, D.D., F.S.A., Dean of Durham, and a vice-president of our Society since 1901, when he entertained us at the Deanery and described Durham Cathedral and Castle, died October 13th, 1912, aged 84. Educated at Christ Church, Oxford, he took a double first in 1850, was select preacher in 1863, lecturer in history, and D.D. in 1883 when he was appointed to the Deanery of Winchester. In 1894 he became Dean of Durham. Of Dr. Kitchin's varied activities this is not the place to speak, but we may record his associations with the Lake District from which, we believe, his family sprung. For some years before the late Mr. Ruskin bought Brantwood, Coniston, Dr. Kitchin was the summer tenant of the house, and there read the proofs of the Oxford Icelandic Dictionary. In later years he was a frequent visitor, and wrote at least once on Cumberland and the Cumbrians. Married to the daughter of the British Consul at Elsinore, and tutor for a time to the Crown Prince of Denmark, he had also a great interest in northern studies, together with an unusual range of scholarship in many languages and periods, ancient and modern.

Miss Josephine Mary Agnes Gough, of Whitefield, daughter of the late Rev. Henry Gough, Rector of Charlton-on-Oxmoor,

Oxfordshire, became a member of our Society in 1893, and was a frequent visitor at our meetings. As the lady of Whitefield, which she inherited from her mother, a sister of the late Mr. Jackson Gillbanks, the former owner, Miss Gough was active in every good work, and universally esteemed. Her death, after a long illness, occurred on October 19th, 1912.

Mr. Alexander Satterthwaite, ex-Mayor of Lancaster, had been a member of our Society since 1894. He was for 33 years treasurer of the Royal Lancaster Infirmary, and occupied also with educational work, latterly as chairman of the Storey Institute Committee. He died on October 31st, 1912, aged 60.

Mr. Arthur Bromfield Clark, of Prospect House, Aspatria, died on December 22nd, 1912, after an active life in the service of his neighbourhood. Among the positions he held were those of County Councillor, Governor of the Nelson School, Wigton, Commissioner for Income Tax, representative for Aspatria on the Wigton Board of Guardians and Chairman of the Finance Committee, Chairman of the Aspatria Gas and Light Company, Director of the local Savings Bank and Public Hall Company, Vicar's Warden and Lay Representative to the Ruri-decanal Conferences. He was elected a member of our Society in 1892 and a frequent visitor to our meetings.

The Rev. William Bent Grenside, born 1st February, 1821, was 3rd son of the Rev. Christopher Grenside, Rector of Great Massingham, Norfolk, and was educated privately and at Trinity College, Cambridge, graduating B.A. 1846 and M.A. 1849. He was ordained deacon by Bishop Sumner at Chester in 1846 and priest in 1847 (the last ordination before the formation of the Manchester Diocese); he was Curate of Claughton in Lunesdale from 1846 to 1855; whilst here he discovered the earliest English dated bell in the churchyard. He was appointed by Lord Chancellor Cranworth in 1855 to the Vicarage of Melling, and on 30th March, 1905, the jubilee of his Vicariate was celebrated and he was presented with a handsome silver salver, and a few days later a window was unveiled in the Church in commemoration of the interesting event. The present Bishop of Manchester made him an Honorary Canon in October, 1905. He was Chaplain to Colonel North, D.S.O., on the occasion of his High Shrievalty of Westmorland in 1908. He was always keenly interested in antiquarian matters. In his Cambridge days, in 1841, he was one of the early members of the Cambridge

Camden Society and the Cambridge Antiquarian Society; he joined the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire in 1854 and later the Yorkshire Archæological Society. On 21st December, 1912, he fell whilst visiting Mrs. North at the Old Hall, Endmoor, and broke his thigh; from this he never recovered and died at Melling Vicarage on the 28th January, 1913, and was interred with every mark of respect and esteem on the Friday following. Obituary notices (with portraits) of him appeared in the "Lancaster Guardian" and the "Lancaster Observer" of 1st February. A very characteristic portrait of him standing beside the ancient cross shaft in Hornby Churchyard may be found opposite to p. 97 of vol. xxi. of the *Transactions* of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, and another good portrait appeared in the Manchester Diocesan Calendar for 1912. He was elected a member of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Society in 1879. At the Kirkby Lonsdale meeting, June, 1883, he read a paper on Tunstall Church (not printed in *Transactions*) and described Thurland Castle, also gave information about the Roman milestone at Middleton (*Transactions*, O.S., vii., 85, 89). At the Lancaster meeting, Sept., 1890, he was one of the local Committee, and described Gressingham, Melling and Hornby Churches and Hornby Castle, and entertained the party at Melling Vicarage. At the Kirkby Lonsdale meeting, June-July, 1904, he read papers on Thurland Castle and Melling Church, *Transactions*, N.S., v., 280, 285, and gave the visitors tea at his Vicarage. At the Lancaster meeting, Sept., 1911 (when over 90 years old), he was on the Local Committee and exhibited the clapper of the Claughton bell, together with some stone implements. He was an old friend of Dr. Lingard (the eminent historian), so long in charge of the Hornby Catholic Church, and was a keen rider to hounds till quite recently. He was a charming personality, a bachelor, and at his death the oldest beneficed clergyman in the Manchester Diocese, if not in England. He was present at Lancaster Castle when Queen Victoria paid her visit in 1851, and was a guest of the writer on the occasion of the visit of King George V. to Lancaster on 24th August last. He was also presented to King Edward VII. He left to the Storey Institute, Lancaster, such of his local books as the Town Clerk and Librarian cared to select. The Corporation have accepted these and propose to keep them together as the "Canon Grenside Collection." Several other articles of interest have passed to the Storey Institute under his will.—

(T. CANN HUGHES.)

Sir Josceline Fitzroy Bagot, Bart., M.P., of Levens Hall, born 1854, the son of Colonel Charles Bagot and grandson of the Rt. Hon. Sir Charles Bagot, G.C.B., died on March 1st, 1913. From Eton he passed into the army, entering the Grenadier Guards in 1875, and retiring with the rank of Captain in 1886. He was subsequently Major and then Lieut.-Colonel of the Westmorland and Cumberland Yeomanry; J.P., D.L., and County Councillor; and M.P. for South Westmorland from 1892 to 1906 and from 1910 to the time of his death. He accompanied two Governors General to Canada as A.D.C. and served during the war in South Africa, where he acted as Press Censor, 1899-1901. In 1885 he married Theodosia, daughter of Sir John Leslie, Bart., of Glaslough, and leaves one son and three daughters. He became a member of our Society in 1884, and published two historical works: "Colonel James Grahme of Levens" and "George Canning and his friends," the materials for which he found chiefly among the celebrated documents of Levens Hall.

Dr. Thomas Hodgkin, B.A., D.C.L., F.S.A., the eminent author, had been a member of our Society since 1884. Born in 1831 at Tottenham, the son of John Hodgkin, barrister-at-law, he became partner in the bank of Hodgkin, Barnett & Co., Newcastle-upon-Tyne (now absorbed into Lloyd's Bank). In 1861 he married at Falmouth Miss Lucy Anna Fox, and leaves issue. He was a J.P. for Newcastle and Northumberland, ex-president of the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, president of the Royal Cornwall Polytechnic Society, etc., and he was famous as the author of "Italy and her Invaders," "The Letters of Cassiodorus," "The Life of George Fox," and many other writings which marked him as one of the most authoritative historians of the period. He died at Falmouth, March 2nd, 1913.

Mr. Charles Edwin Robinson, solicitor, of Kirkby Stephen, a member of our Society since 1901, died April 19th, 1913. A native of York, he settled in Westmorland twenty years ago, and became prominent in sport and Freemasonry, as well as in local administrative councils.

We regret to record the loss of a member long connected with the Society and frequently seen at our meetings, by the death of Mrs. Sewell, of Brandlingill.

LIST OF MEMBERS

OF THE

CUMBERLAND AND WESTMORLAND ANTIQUARIAN AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

(MAY, 1913.)

HONORARY MEMBERS.

Greenwell, Rev. Canon William, M.A., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A. (Lon. and Scot.), Durham.
Maxwell, The Right Hon. Sir Herbert E., Bart., M.P., F.S.A., Monreith, Wigtownshire.
Wilson, Titus, Aynam Lodge, Kendal.

MEMBERS.

[NAMES IN SMALL CAPITALS SIGNIFY LIFE MEMBERS.]

1907 Abercrombie, Dr. John, *Member of Council*, Augill Castle, Brough, Westmorland.
1913 Aberdeen University Library (P. C. Anderson, Librarian).
1911 Adair, Harold, Ringingstone, Egremont, Cumberland.
1911 Ainley, Rev. A., The Priory, St. Bees.
1878 Ainsworth, J. S., M.P., Harecroft, Holmrook, Carnforth.
1874 Allison, Sir R. A., Scaleby Hall, Carlisle.
1895 Ambleside Library, "Armitt's Trust."
1911 Anderson, Rev. T. W., The Vicarage, Temple Sowerby, Penrith.
1912 ANDERTON, Henry Ince, Palazzo Capponi, 28 Via Gino Capponi, Florence, Italy.
1899 Archibald, C. F., 2 Darnley Road, West Park, Leeds.
1879 Argles, Thomas Atkinson, *Treasurer*, Eversley, Milnthorpe.
1905 Arnison, N. H., Fell Side, Penrith.
1896 Asher & Co. (Berlin), Bedford Street, Covent Garden, London, W.C.
1902 Atkinson, John R., Bank Field, Beckermet.
1907 Atkinson, William, The Rookery, Ulverston.
1911 Austin, Geoffrey Langshawe, Hillside, Lancaster.
1903 Austin, H. J., Heversham House, Milnthorpe.

1913 Baddeley, Mrs. M. S., 2 Lake View Villas, Bowness-on-Windermere.
1911 Bailey, Charles Edwin, Howard Cottages, Warton, near Carnforth.
1885 BANKS, Edwin H.
1910 Barker, The Very Rev. Wm., D.D., The Abbey, Carlisle.
1875 Barnes, H., M.D., LL.D., F.R.S.E., *Vice-President*, Portland Square, Carlisle.
1909 Barnes, J. A., M.A., 5 Ashleigh, Kendal.
1908 Barnes, T., Solicitor, Carlisle.
1907 Baron, Rev. R. R. N., Mouldron, Aske, Richmond, Yorkshire.

1885 Barrow-in-Furness Free Library.
1910 Barrow-in-Furness, the Rt. Rev. the Bishop of, The Abbey, Carlisle.
1913 Barrow Naturalists' Field Club (W. L. Page, Cavendish Street, Barrow).
1906 Bateson, Mrs., Upna Ghur, Lancaster.
1912 Baxter, Rev. William, Holm Cultram Rectory, Abbey Town, Carlisle.
1881 Beardsley, Richard Henry, Grange-over-Sands.
1912 Beckton, John Backhouse, 81 Castle Street, Carlisle.
1910 Beetham, Dr. Frederick, Clifton End, Manningham, Bradford.
1894 Beevor, Miss, 9 Eden Mount, Stanwix, Carlisle.
1899 Bell, W. H., F.S.A., Cleeve House, Seend, Melksham, Wilts.
1911 Bennett, Mrs., Whelpside, Hensingham, near Whitehaven.
1893 Benson, Mrs., Hyning, Milnthorpe.
1899 Bentinck, Lord Henry Cavendish, Underley Hall, Kirkby Lonsdale.
1912 Birkett, J. Stanwell, Little Ellers, Keswick.
1889 Birkbeck, Robert, F.S.A., 20 Berkeley Square, London.
1879 Blair, Robert, F.S.A., Harton Lodge, South Shields.
1877 Blanc, Hippolyte J., F.S.A.Scot., 25 Rutland Square, Edinburgh.
1902 Board of Education Library, Victoria and Albert Museum, Kensington, S.W.
1899 Booker, R. P. L., M.A., F.S.A., Eton College, Windsor.
1912 Borwick, Lady, Eden Lacy, Lazonby, R.S.O.
1877 Boston Free Library, Boston, Mass., U.S.A.
1913 Bosward, Wm., Parr's Bank, Penrith.
1913 Bouch, C. M. Lowther, 35 Edwardes Square, Kensington, W.
1898 Bowman, A. N., Eden Lodge, Carlisle.
1909 Braithwaite, H. Bellamy, Kendal.
1908 Braithwaite, J. W., Market Square, Kirkby Stephen.
1908 Breeks, Mrs., Helbeck Hall, Brough, Kirkby Stephen.
1905 Brierley, Henry, *Member of Council*, 26 Swinley Road, Wigan.
1910 Brierley, Mrs. H., 26 Swinley Road, Wigan.
1907 Briggs, William, The Vale, Lancaster.
1911 Broadhurst, Mrs. Arthur, Water Foot, Penrith.
1906 Broatch, J., Solicitor, Keswick.
1888 Brougham, Lord, K.C.V.O., Brougham Hall, Penrith.
1904 Brown, William, F.S.A., The Old House, Sowerby, Thirsk.
1878 Browne, George, Troutbeck, Windermere.
1912 Bruce, Rt. Hon. Sir Gainsford, Yewhurst, Bromley, Kent.
1910 Brunskill, E. C., The Nook, Fern Hill, Kendal.
1908 Brydson, A. P., Water Park, Greenodd, Ulverston.
1905 Buckwell, G. W., Board of Trade Surveyor's Office, 73 Robertson Street, Glasgow.
1911 Bulwinkle, Charles, 11 Strickland Place, Kendal.
1905 Burnett, James R., The Red Beeches, Scotby, Carlisle.
1902 Burnyeat, Wm. J. Dalzell, M.A., Moresby House, Whitehaven.
1880 Burrow, Rev. J. J., Ireby, Carlisle.
1906 Butler, T. F., Infield, Barrow-in-Furness.
1895 Butler, Wilson, B.A., Glebelands, Broughton-in-Furness.

1911 Caine, Rev. Cæsar, The Vicarage, Cleator, Cumberland.
1899 Calverley, Mrs., Fell Garth, Kilner Park, Ulverston.
1898 Campbell, Ven. Archdeacon, M.A., The Abbey, Carlisle.
1878 Carey, Thomas, 23 Curzon Street, Maryport.
1899 Carlisle Public Library (L. E. Hope, Tullie House).

1905 Carlisle, The Rt. Rev. the Lord Bishop of, *Patron*, Rose Castle, Carlisle.
1907 Carr, Sidney Storey, 14 Percy Gardens, Tynemouth, Northumberland.
1892 Carruthers, Richard, Eden Grove, Carlisle.
1907 Cartmell, H. Studholme, Hayton, near Carlisle.
1875 Cartmell, Joseph, C.E., Spring Field, Brigham, Cockermouth.
1911 Casson, T. E., Keswick School, Keswick.
1911 Castlehow, William, Watermillock, Penrith.
1892 Chadwick, S. J., F.S.A., Lyndhurst, Dewsbury.
1905 Chambers, Charles P., Orchard Head, Broughton-in-Furness.
1899 Chance, F. W., Morton, Carlisle.
1874 Chapelhow, Rev. Joseph, D.D., Kirkandrews-on-Eden Rectory, Carlisle.
1907 Chapman, Walter Ingram, Fruitless Head, Appleby.
1906 Chichester, the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of.
1901 Chorley Free Public Library.
1899 Clark, John, Broughton-in-Furness.
1893 Clarke, Rev. J. J., M.A., Selside Vicarage, Kendal.
1910 Clarke, Thomas, Eskmeals, Ravenglass.
1903 Clayton, Mrs., Chesters, Humshaugh.
1910 Clegg, Lieut. E. C., The Border Regiment, The Castle, Carlisle.
1905 Cock, Rev. E. H., Winster, Windermere.
1894 Collingwood, A. H., Town Clerk's Office, Carlisle.
1887 Collingwood, W. G., M.A., F.S.A., *Editor*, Lanehead, Coniston.
1909 Collingwood, Robin G., Pembroke College, Oxford.
1883 Conder, Edward, F.S.A., Terry Bank, Old Town, Kirkby Lonsdale, and Conigree Court, Newent, Gloucester.
1913 Copeland, Rev. Wm., St. Stephen's Vicarage, Carlisle.
1903 Coulthard, Dr., Aspatria.
1884 Coward, John, Fountain Street, Ulverston.
1886 Cowper, H. S., F.S.A., *Vice-President*, Great Loddenden, Staplehurst, Kent.
1888 Cowper, J. C., Keen Ground, Hawkshead.
1885 Creighton, Miss, Eden Mount, Stanwix, Carlisle.
1904 Crerar, Dr. J. W., 11 High Street, Maryport.
1886 Crewdson, F. W., *Auditor*, Beathwaite, Levens, Milnthorpe.
1897 Cropper, Arthur E., St. Oswald's, Madeira Park, Tunbridge Wells.
1901 Cropper, Charles J., Ellergreen, Kendal.
1874 Crowder, W. I. R., Eden Mount, Stanwix, Carlisle.
1904 Cumberland and Westmorland Association of London (C. Maugham, Hon. Sec., The Park, London Road, Forest Hill, London, S.E.).
1910 Cumpston, Miss Ellen, Barton Hall, Penrith.
1910 Cumpston, Miss M. E., Barton Hall, Penrith.
1900 Curwen, A. D., Workington Hall, Workington.
1899 Curwen, Eldred Vincent, Withdeane Court, Brighton.
1887 Curwen, John F., F.S.A., *Hon. Secretary for Correspondence*, Heversham.
1906 Curwen, Miss Patricia, Workington Rectory.

1910 Davies, Arthur, B.A., County Secondary School, Brampton.
1910 Day, Rev. H. Bloxsome, 2 Victoria Place, Carlisle.
1907 Dent, R. W., Flass House, Crosby Ravensworth, Shap.
1895 Devonshire, His Grace the Duke of, Devonshire House, Piccadilly, London, W.
1911 Dickinson, Frederick, The Towers, Cockermouth.
1898 Dickinson, William, Chapel House, near Whitehaven.

1902 Dickson, Mrs. A. B., Abbots Reading, Ulverston.
1886 Dixon, T., Rheda, Whitehaven.
1911 Dobson, William, Brampton.
1894 Donald, Miss H. M., Stanwix, Carlisle.
1909 Donald, Mrs. Sydney, Quarry Hill, Mealsgate.
1903 Douglas, Rev. D. G., 25 Amhurst Road, Bexhill-on-Sea, Sussex.
1901 Doyle, Hugh, 4 Cringlethwaite Terrace, Egremont, R.S.O., Cumberland.
1900 Duckworth, J., B.A., 1 Howard Place, Warwick Road, Carlisle.
1913 Dykes, H. Ballantyne, Dovenby Hall, Cockermouth.
1894 Dymond, Charles William, F.S.A., Hon. F.S.A. (Scot.), The Castle, Sawrey, S.O., Lancashire.
1903 Dyson, Mrs., 1 Hoad Terrace, Ulverston.

1911 Eastwood, Rev. J. Hastings, The Manse, Penrith.
1885 Ecroyd, Edward, Low House, Armathwaite, R.S.O.
1906 Edmondson, R. H., Brierswood, Sawrey, Windermere.
1911 Elliott, Geo. Wilson, Norcroft House, Penrith.
1912 Ellison, John, Holme Wood, Cockermouth.

1911 Fair, Miss, The Ferns, Eskdale Green, Cumberland.
1906 Farrer, Captain W. J., Chapel House, Bassenthwaite.
1904 Farrer, Miss, Bassenthwaite, Keswick.
1887 Farrer, William, Litt.D., *Vice-President*, Hall Garth, Carnforth.
1895 Fawcitt, John W., Broughton House, Broughton-in-Furness.
1912 Fell, J. F, Daltongate Street, Ulverston.
1912 Fendley, James, 1 Wellington Place, Botcherby.
1901 Ferguson, Major Spencer C., *Member of Council*, 37 Lowther Street, Carlisle.
1912 Fetherstonhaugh, Mrs., The College, Kirkoswald, Penrith.
1910 Fisher, Joseph, Higham, Cockermouth.
1912 Fletcher, Mrs. A., Allerton, Liverpool.
1877 Fletcher, Mrs., Ashville, Pargeta Street, Stourbridge.
1886 Fletcher, W. L., Stoneleigh, Workington.
1884 Ford, John Rawlinson, *Member of Council*, Yealand Conyers, Carnforth.
1899 Ford, Rev. Harold D., Thursby Vicarage, Carlisle.
1907 Forster, Charles Wreay, Lake Bank, Hawkshead, Ambleside.
1907 Forster, R. H., F.S.A., 2 Enmore Road, Putney, London, S.W.
1901 Fothergill, Arthur, Newlands, Kendal.
1906 Fothergill, J. W., Brownber, Newbiggin, S.O.
1904 Fothergill, Miss, Brownber Cottage, Ravenstonedale.
1911 Fox, P. H., Union Club, Trafalgar Square, S.W., and High House, St. Bees.

1912 Gandy, Henry, Skirsgill Park, Penrith.
O.M. Gandy, J. G. *Vice-President*, Heaves, Kendal.
1910 Garnett, Miss, Fairfield, Windermere.
1898 Garstang, T. C, Argyle Terrace, Workington.
1889 Gatey, George, Gale Bank, Ambleside.
1907 Geddes, Miss Marion, Lanrigge Howe, Windermere.
1877 Gibson, Miss M., Burnside, Barbon.
1911 Gibson, William, Greyfell, Penrith.

1885 Gilbanks, Rev. W. F., M.A., Great Orton, Carlisle.
1911 Gill, F. V., c/o Alfred Gill & Co., Colonial Buildings, 127 Sunbridge Road, Bradford.
1877 Gillbanks, Mrs., Clifton, Penrith.
1906 Gillbanks, Plaskett, Clifton, Penrith.
1913 Gillibrand, Miss, Ellerwood, Bowness-on-Windermere.
1877 Gillings, Mrs., Broughton-in-Furness.
1911 Golland, Rev. C. E., M.A., The Vicarage, Glasson Dock, near Lancaster.
1910 Goodchild, Mrs., Waldron, Milburn, Newbigging, Carlisle.
1900 Goodwin, Harvey, Orton Hall, Tebay.
1904 Gordon, Rev. C. J., Great Salkeld, Penrith.
1906 Gott, John, Lorna Road, Hove, Brighton.
1909 Graham, Hartley, The Larches, Penrith.
1899 Graham, T. H. B., *Member of Council*, Edmond Castle, Carlisle, and Oxford and Cambridge Club, Pall Mall, S.W.
1908 Graham, William J. H., 78 King Street, Manchester.
1900 Grainger, Francis, Southerfield, Abbey Town, by Carlisle.
1893 Green, Rev. R. S. G., M.A., Holy Trinity Vicarage, Millom.
1891 Greenop, Joseph, William Street, Workington.
1877 Greenwood, R. H., *Auditor*, Bankfield, Kendal.
1901 Greg, John, Escowbeck, Caton, Lancaster.
1901 Groves, W. G., Holehird, Windermere.
1912 Gudgeon, Rev. C. J., Penrith.
1893 Guildhall Library, London (Bernard Kettle, Librarian).

1912 Hale, Rev. Bernard G. R., M.A., Edenhall Rectory, Langwathby.
1906 Halton, Miss B. M., 4 Norfolk Road, Carlisle.
1912 Harding, Newton H., 110 N. Pine Avenue, Chicago, U.S.A.
1878 Hargreaves, J. E., Beezon Lodge, Kendal.
1912 Harris, Major Chas. Joseph, M.D., Whitehaven.
1912 Harrison, C. H., North Lodge, Cockermouth.
1881 Harrison, James, Newby Bridge House, Ulverston.
1904 Harrison, Miss M. E., Belmount, Storrs, Windermere.
1894 Harrison, Rev. D., M.A., Dunthwaite, Cockermouth.
1878 Harrison, Rev. James, Barbon Vicarage, Kirkby Lonsdale.
1890 Hartley, Mrs., Holme Garth, Morecambe.
1911 Hasell, Mrs., Dalemain, Penrith.
1912 Haslam, Rev. J. P., M.A., The Vicarage, Crosby Ravensworth.
1893 Haswell, John Francis, M.D., C.M., *Member of Council and Hon. Sec. Parish Register Section*, The Friarage, Penrith.
1890 HAVERFIELD, Professor F., M.A., LL.D., F.S.A., Hon. F.S.A. Scot., *Vice-President*, Winshields, Headington Hill, Oxford.
1908 Heelis, E. A., The Cottage, Appleby.
1908 Heelis, Mrs. E. A., The Cottage, Appleby.
1898 Heelis, Rev. A. J., M.A., Brougham Rectory, Penrith.
1892 Hellon, Robert, Whinthwaite, Seascale, Carnforth.
1911 Hepworth, Mrs., Stanwix House, Carlisle.
1881 Hetherington, J. Newby, F.R.G.S., 16 Lansdowne Crescent, Kensington, London, W.
1890 Hewitson, William, Appleby.
1911 Heywood, Rev. J. H., M.A., The Rectory, Ulverston.
1885 Hibbert, Percy J., Hampsfield, Grange-over-Sands.
1889 Higginson, H., Bank Street, Carlisle.

1909 Highmoor, J. R., The Chantry, Ravenstonedale.
1889 Hinds, James P., 11 Victoria Place, Carlisle.
1889 Hinds, Miss, 11 Victoria Place, Carlisle.
1905 Hobley, E. G., A.R.C.A., Brunswick Square, Penrith.
1899 Hobson, William Harrison, Maryport.
1906 Hodgson, C. Courtenay, The Courts, Carlisle.
1903 Hodgson, J. Crawford, F.S.A., Abbey Cottage, Alnwick.
1910 Hodgson, Mrs. Alice, Wertern Lodge, Workington.
1895 Hodgson, Mrs., Newby Grange, Carlisle.
1911 Hodgson, Rev. T. D., The Rectory, Kirkbampton, Cumberland.
1887 Hodgson, Rev. W. G. C., M.A., Distington Rectory, Whitehaven.
1883 Hodgson, T. H., F.S.A., *President*, Newby Grange, Carlisle.
1898 Holme, Mrs., Mardale, Haweswater, Penrith.
1901 Holmes, W. A., M.D., 50 Hartington Street, Barrow.
1895 Holt, Miss E. G., Sudley, Mossley Hill, Liverpool.
1903 Holt, Mrs., Blackwell, Windermere.
1912 Holt, Mrs. R. D., High Borrans, Windermere.
1912 Hornby, Rev. Wm., Stanwix Vicarage, Carlisle.
1912 Horrocks, Mrs., Salkeld Hall, Langwathby, nr. Penrith.
1912 Horsley, Sir Victor, 25 Cavendish Square, London, W.
1912 Horsley, Lady, 25 Cavendish Square, London, W.
1882 Hothfield, Lord, *Patron*, Appleby Castle.
1898 Hough, Kighley, J., 14 Portland Square, Carlisle.
1904 Houlgate, John William, 5 Threadneedle Street, London.
1910 Howard, Lady Dorothy, Naworth Castle, Carlisle.
1909 Howard, P. T. C., Corby Castle, Carlisle.
1894 Huddart, A., 9 Lowther Street, Whitehaven.
1895 Huddleston, Ferdinand, 59 Eaton Rise, Ealing, London.
1888 Hudson, Rev. Canon, Crosby House, Carlisle.
1902 Hudson, Rev. Canon, Thornton Vicarage, Horncastle.
1912 Hughes, Prof. T. McKenny, M.A., F.R.S., F.G.S., F.S.A., Trinity College, Cambridge.
1905 Hughes, T. Cann, M.A., F.S.A., 78 Church Street, Lancaster.
1911 Hume, Major, The Castle, Carlisle.

1881 Iredale, Thomas, Workington.
1907 Irwin, Mrs., Lynehow, Carlisle.
1912 Irwin, Wilfred, Sunnyside, Papcastle, Cockermouth.

1896 Jackson, Edwin, *Member of Council*, Threlkeld Leys, Cockermouth.
1911 Jackson, Mrs. Edwin, Threlkeld Leys, Cockermouth.
1877 Jackson, Mrs. W., Harewood House, Tunbridge Wells.
1899 Jackson, Samuel Hart, Heaning Wood, Ulverston.
1908 Johnson, Miss Alice, 12 Castle Park, Lancaster.
1904 Johnston, J. Rooke, Mulcaster Crescent, Stanwix, Carlisle.
1911 Jones, Rev. George, Great Strickland Vicarage, Penrith.
1908 Jowett, John Samuel, 3 Windermere Road, Kendal.

1907 Keenlyside, Miss Sibella F., Gally Law, Weybridge.
1908 Kendal Public Library (J. Wilson Brown, Librarian).
1898 Kendall, John, L.R.C.P.S., etc., Oaklands, Coniston.
1889 Kennedy, Myles, Stone Cross, Ulverston.
1906 Kitchin, Rev. J. A., Askham Vicarage, Penrith.

1906 Kirkbride, Mrs., Clevedon, Harrington Road, Preston Park, Brighton.

1905 Lamb, J. Elliot, Solicitor, Caistor, Lincs.
1897 Lamonby, W. F., The Place, Great Bardfield, Braintree, Essex.
1909 Lancaster, W. T., 7 Clarendon Place, Mount Preston, Leeds.
1894 Langhorne, John, Watson Villa, Ravelstone Park, Edinburgh.
1903 Law, Rev. R. H., Christ's Church Vicarage, Penrith.
1910 Lawson, Lady, Isel Hall, Cockermouth.
1911 Lawson, Wm. John, Westwood, Brampton.
1882 Lazonby, J., 24 Addison Street, Nottingham.
1889 Le Fleming, Stanley Hughes, Rydal Hall, Ambleside.
1897 Leconfield, Lord, Petworth, Sussex.
1896 Lediard, H. A., M.D., 26 Lowther Street, Carlisle.
1901 Leeds Library (D. A. Cruse, Librarian).
1895 Lehmann u. Stage, Copenhagen.
1887 Lester, Thomas, Firbank, Penrith.
1911 Llewellyn, H. H., Inglemere, Arnside.
1911 Lincoln's Inn, The Hon. Society of (A. F. Etheridge, Librarian).
1907 Ling, W. N., Ashgate, Wetheral, Carlisle.
1892 Little, William, Chapel Ridding, Windermere.
1903 Little, W. Lowther, Penrith.
1901 Littlewood, J. H., High Croft, Kendal.
1883 Liverpool Free Public Library.
1875 Loftie, Rev. Canon, M.A., Wetheral, Carlisle.
1902 Long, William, Cleabarrow, Windermere.
1883 Lonsdale, Horace B., Rose Hill, Carlisle.
1875 Lonsdale, The Earl of, Lowther Castle, Penrith.
1907 Lowry, Arthur, Waratah, Broughton, Preston.
1889 Lowther, The Right Hon. J. W., The Speaker, *Vice-President*, Hutton John, Penrith.

1912 Machell, Humphrey Gilbert, 41 York Terrace, Regent's Park, London.
1879 Machell, Lt.-Colonel Thomas, Whitehaven.
1890 Mackey, M., 36 Highbury, West Jesmond, Newcastle-on-Tyne.
1874 Maclaren, R., M.D., Portland Square, Carlisle.
1908 Maclean, Rev. Hector, Watermillock Rectory, Penrith.
1892 MAGRATH, Rev. J. R., D.D., *Vice-President*, Provost of Queen's College, Oxford.
1912 Makant, Miss, Old Fallbarrow, Bowness-on-Windermere.
1906 Marsh, Richard T., High Peak, Kenyon, Manchester.
1894 Marshall, John, Derwent Island, Keswick.
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As revised at the Annual Meeting, June 20th, 1901.

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